

COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW



WINTER, 1966/1967

*... to assess the performance of journalism in all its forms,
to call attention to its shortcomings and strengths, and to
help define—or redefine—standards of honest, responsible
service ...
... to help stimulate continuing improvement in the pro-
fession and to speak out for what is right, fair, and decent.*

*Cover photograph by Harrison Salisbury
from The New York Times*

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Columbia Journalism Review is published quarterly under auspices of the faculty, alumni, and friends of the Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University.

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Volume V, Number 4, Winter, 1966/1967. Published four times a year by Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. Editorial and business offices: 602 Journalism Building, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 10027. © 1967 Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University.

Subscription rates: \$6.00 a year. Single copy: \$1.75. Add 50¢ a year for subscriptions going outside the United States and United States possessions.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

ARTICLES

- 5 Making sense of Viet Nam news. W. Phillips Davison
- 17 How I tried to write a letter to the Times. Robert Yoakum
- 19 The News holds court. Thomas F. Mitchell
- 22 Oracles and their audiences. Ben H. Bagdikian
- 48 This ad was unacceptable. Gene R. Beley

SURVEY

- 10 A Salisbury chronicle
- 14 The "right to lie." Martin Gershen

DEPARTMENTS

- 2 Passing comment: views of the editors
- 30 Arrivals and departures: How to make a newspaper. Edwin Diamond
- 35 Research: The newspaper-television debate. Douglas A. Fuchs
- 38 Editorial notebook
- 40 Books
- 46 Report on reports
- 51 Letters
- 56 the lower case

Behind the lines

A few journalists and news organizations reacted surprisingly to Harrison Salisbury's venture into North Viet Nam. (Details are on pages 10 to 13). The presence of the *New York Times* correspondent in Hanoi seemed to be greeted with relative calm by the public and by most departments of government (the Pentagon being a notable exception). A pack of journalists led the shouting and finger-pointing.

The most hopeful explanation of that response is to ascribe it to distaste for Salisbury's reporting or to competitiveness. The least palatable is that journalists were conceding (as they have done in past wars) that journalism stops at the front lines and the official handout takes over.

Granted, reporting from the capital of a country under attack by the United States is likely to be hard to take. Americans scarcely like to be told by American reporters that their bombs, like other bombs, kill people and destroy things. Possibly it is a mark of a public's maturity if it can absorb such facts without condemning the reporter. It is disquieting to find a few journalists who do not themselves show this maturity.

By all means, the members of Harrison Salisbury's profession should criticize, dissect, deplore (or even praise) his stories. But they should hesitate before condemning his right to report from Hanoi. They do the public and themselves no good when they suggest that journalism turn aside when asked to view sights that may disturb the official version of war.

Book of the year

Despite the repeated invocation of great principles, it is hard to find that such principles won, lost, or were even jarred in the dispute over William Manchester's work, *The Death of a President*. There was not a substantial issue of the public's "right to know," or, as the publisher put

it, the book's "right to live." (No writer needs to be told that the existence of a manuscript is hardly a guarantee that a book will "live" — be published.) Although one of the parties to the controversy tried to invoke government action, the matter was essentially a private fracas over how many editors the book ought to have under the curious terms of agreement.

In many respects, the work has been sent down the same path of exploitation followed by any major literary properties, especially the never-ending stream of Kennedy books. The completed manuscript was submitted to six big magazines, the winner to get serialization rights. *Look* won, for \$665,000, and began to insure its investment with heavy promotion and resale overseas. Despite the temporary threat to publication, the publicity given the author-publisher-family argument in December and January merely seemed to inflate the book's value. So did the many leaks concerning the disputed parts of its contents, offered to the press by persons unnamed who were evidently intent on pricking the publicity balloon.

The first installment in *Look* was said to have tripled the magazine's normal newsstand sales, despite a simultaneous rise in price to 50 cents. Indeed, the material was so salesworthy that newspapers impatiently helped themselves to the contents, the *Chicago Daily News* and the *New York World Journal Tribune* both incurring lawsuits. (The former ended promptly.) By the end of January, the AP carried a prediction that advance shipments of the book might reach 500,000 copies. Meanwhile, each of the four installments carried in *Look* produced at least a mini-controversy of its own, with a new flurry of rebuttal in the wake. And a final round of television, magazine, and newspaper interviews with the aggrieved author, as well as competing "inside" stories, provided further grist.

It all adds up to the greatest build-up ever given an American book. Without preaching any

sermons about it, it is still possible to ask whether its numerous exploiters have not served themselves somewhat better than they have served the public.

The diplomat

The *Review* has never found either the New York newspaper publishers or the New York newspaper unions notable for wisdom, responsibility, or imagination in their handling of their recurrent labor-management problems. As this issue goes to press, the unions are bogged in a morass of internecine quarrels, and the city seems hell-bent for another disastrous strike in April. Amid it all, some sort of inverse award for union statesmanship should go to president Bertram A. Powers of the Typographical Union local for his utterance: "We expect to obtain the biggest, fattest, and juiciest contract ever . . . If they don't cough up the dough, we'll have a strike."

The Guild abroad

Members of the American Newspaper Guild may have a bone to pick with their officers over the revelation that the union has received more than a million dollars from the Central Intelligence Agency for international programs. Were officers within their constitutional prerogatives in accepting such funds and undertaking such programs? Did the officers give an adequate accounting of the sources and uses of the money? These are questions that the ANG must resolve internally.

But it is appropriate to suggest that the members also pay attention to wider implications of their union's involvement. Nowhere were these implications expressed more pointedly than in the angry editorial in *The Washington Post* on February 19, the day after the Guild's CIA funds were exposed. The *Post* said:

"The Guild has been hungrily taking covert Government money to teach our benighted and oppressed brothers beyond the seas about the virtues of a free and independent press that is un beholden to any political paymaster. It is this element of moral imbecility that now constitutes a deep threat to the future of the American labor

movement . . . [the] profoundly disquieting side of the affair is the eagerness with which the Guild accepted the money. It has been the willing accomplice to its own seduction.

"American journalism needs a strong, idealistic, fiercely independent union. But the Guild's



emergence as a secret partner of secret government only indicates the decay that has overtaken it. Mr. Perlik, the Guild's secretary-treasurer, laments that the publication of this relationship will destroy the union's usefulness abroad. He might better spend his time considering its effect upon the union's usefulness in this country, among its own members."

Darts and laurels

When The Associated Press distributed a story on February 7 by Wilfred Burchett, it not only identified him as an "Australian Communist writer," but warned the reader: "This article gives a Communist view and should be read in that light." A publisher, W. E. Chilton III of *The Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette*, commented: "It seems to me the Associated Press went out of its way to prove to readers it is a 100 per cent, red blooded American news-gathering organization."

The CBS Television Network broke into its rarely interrupted daytime schedule for a special

PASSING COMMENT

event on February 14. It was the eighteenth annual Pillsbury Busy Bake-off Awards, originating in Los Angeles. The prizes were presented by Mrs. Phillip W. Pillsbury, wife of the co-chairman of the board of the Pillsbury Company. The sponsor? One guess.

Richard K. Doan reported in *TV Guide* the surprising information that ABC was unable to get affiliates in Columbus (Ohio), Miami, Kansas City, Omaha, and San Antonio, among others, to carry its election night programming; the stations ran movies instead.

China: The Roots of Madness, a ninety-minute documentary shown on independent television stations in January and February, demonstrated that old film can be used as an intelligent illumination of history. Narration written (and delivered in part) by Theodore White raised the program from the too-frequent Wolper Productions scrapbook level to an absorbing epic of China's century of tragedy.

Kickback: Recently, a California concern asked society editors for all names received of newlyweds in exchange for a 25-percent payment on each two-dollar book sold by direct mail. The skimpy book, *Secrets of a Happy Marriage: 10 Illustrated Lessons*, contains reproductions of famous paintings with short quotations. The society editor who has helped to sell this fatuous advice is assured of confidential handling of her information — and the misuse of her knowledge of her community.

National Educational Television, constituting itself a live network (seventy stations) for the first time, outdid the Big Three in covering the President's State of the Union message on January 10. Rather than cutting off the post-speech analysis by the clock, NET permitted experts situated in five cities to proceed for eighty minutes longer

than the commercial networks. The one-night experiment augured well for future efforts on interconnected educational television.

Back in the saddle again: Barry Goldwater, leading critic of the press in 1964, returned to form this winter with a blast at television commentators and other liberals in the *Saturday Evening Post* and the following comment on Harrison Salisbury's trip to Hanoi: "It's a rather sad commentary on the state of the press in the United States when the most influential of it — although it's not — becomes the mouthpiece for Communist propaganda."

Anti-climax department: Nearly a year after the CBS dispute over carrying the testimony of George F. Kennan before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Mr. Kennan appeared again before the committee. This time the decision was unanimous: none of the three networks carried any live coverage, although the testimony made front pages of newspapers the next day.

The Associated Press distributed its longest single story to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of Pearl Harbor. The 15,000 words of "The Middle Aged Lions," by Saul Pett and Jules Loh, was an account of the experience of four Americans in World War II, brilliantly organized and executed. Fortunately, many editors had the good sense to set aside the extraordinary amount of space it required and to present it in one piece.

Peeping ahead: The future, at the turn of the next century, has become a subject of serious journalism. CBS, changing its *Twentieth Century* to *The 21st Century*, began on January 29 to describe the directions of change in such fields as genetics, communications, oceanography, and urbanization. Just as ambitious and comprehensive is the "Shape of the Future" series which has been running in *The Wall Street Journal* at intervals since late in 1966.

Sigma Delta Chi's annual convention voted against admitting women to membership. The action does not harm the women much, but again limits SDX's claim to speak for the profession.

Making sense of Viet Nam news

Too often, reports from Viet Nam are an undigested miscellany. This proposal suggests that action by journalists, government, and scholars could help place isolated incidents in proper perspective

By W. PHILLIPS DAVISON

In the fall, 1966, *Review*, Malcolm Browne, in a discussion* with other Viet Nam correspondents, suggested that journalists had reported all the essential information about the Viet Nam war to the American public. I must disagree. I think that even the most conscientious reader, viewer, and listener is, necessarily, poorly informed about some of the most vital aspects of the conflict. Let me begin by offering illustrative cases:

Bernard B. Fall in *The Two Vietnams*, published in 1963, stated that 45 per cent of the land in South Viet Nam was owned by 2 per cent of the people. This shocking statistic has often been cited since, but it can be grossly misleading.

The reason is simple. Nobody knows how many people there are in South Viet Nam, or how much arable land exists in that wartorn country. There has never been a successful population and land census of the Vietnamese highlands, which comprise roughly two thirds of the country's area. Even in the lowlands, where statistics are better,

the title to a great deal of land is unclear. Some 400,000 hectares (nearly a million acres) of the vast public land holdings are cultivated by squatters who may or may not gain legal title. Any statistics about land holdings have to be treated as approximations that are subject to large error.

Even if we make allowances for the fact that land holding statistics are rough estimates, it immediately becomes apparent that these estimates vary so widely between various provinces that it is meaningless to apply them to the country as a whole. J. P. Gittinger, an agricultural economist who served with the United States Operations Mission to South Viet Nam, found in 1959 — the last year before Viet Cong activity became intense — that the densely populated central Vietnamese coastal region was characterized by very small landholdings. For example, about 90 per cent of the ricelands in that area were owned in units of less than 2.5 hectares. In the rice-producing provinces to the south, however, 1 per cent of the owners held about 45 per cent of the ricelands. Even though this concentration of ownership was reduced somewhat by Diem's land reform, there remains a serious imbalance in land ownership in a third of the provinces of South Viet Nam.

Aha, we may say, then these provinces must be

*"Are We Getting Through?" — based on a National Educational Television program.

areas where the Viet Cong are strong; the people are rising up and demanding the land. Unfortunately, the relationship between Viet Cong activity and patterns of landholding does not seem to be clear, either. In Tay Ninh Province, long a Viet Cong stronghold, Gittinger found only 9 per cent of the riceland belonging to individuals owning more than 100 hectares. In coastal provinces north of Saigon where Viet Cong activity had been intense, the incidence of large landholdings was even lower. But in parts of southern provinces where almost half of the riceland was held in units of more than 100 hectares the Viet Cong had been relatively inactive. There may be a relationship between landholding and political sympathies, but it certainly is not an obvious one.

Similar ambiguities exist with respect to numerous aspects of the war. How is one to evaluate isolated reports of incidents taking place in the countryside, especially when individual incidents can be found to support almost any interpretation or point of view? The following report, which came to the attention of Americans in Saigon several months ago, exemplifies the problem of drawing conclusions from individual incidents:

During the summer of 1965 Viet Cong forces overran a village in Tan Linh District, Binh Tuy Province, set up their own village administration, and started to root out opposition. In this process they arrested a number of villagers, including several members of the village Buddhist Association. The local Buddhist Bonze, the Venerable Tich Bao Hue, opposed these arrests, and demanded that the men be released. When the Viet Cong refused, he posted slogans in front of his pagoda denouncing the National Liberation Front and accusing it of persecuting the religious. At this, the Viet Cong village authorities sent a number of guerrillas to arrest the Bonze. Some of the local

people learned of the intention of the Viet Cong and turned out to defend their religious leader. One ran to a neighboring village and asked for help from the Buddhists there. At the same time the Viet Cong also sent for reinforcements. A large crowd assembled in front of the pagoda. Scuffling ensued, and there were wounded on both sides, but the better-armed Viet Cong forces prevailed. They entered the pagoda, arrested the Bonze and eighty to a hundred men, tied them up, and took them to the mountains. Afterward, the Viet Cong announced that the Bonze had really been working as a spy for the Americans. The villagers did not believe this, but nobody dared say anything.

This report, fairly specific and quite dramatic, immediately suggests a number of questions. Did the incident actually take place as described? If so, how typical is it? Are Buddhists in the countryside often that well organized? Do the Viet Cong usually try to dissolve associations they do not control? Why were the villagers apparently so courageous in opposing the Viet Cong when their Bonze was threatened with arrest, while later they were so terrified that they did not even dare talk about the incident? Was the Bonze really a spy, or is it customary for the Viet Cong to make this charge against anyone whose activities they find troublesome? In short, the incident in Binh Tuy Province can be seen either as indicative of basic factors involved in the war or as an atypical event that is essentially meaningless. The same is true of most individual incidents in the news.

Then there is the problem of interpreting refugee statistics. We know that thousands of South Vietnamese have been driven from their villages by bombing and shelling, and this is often reported. We also know that many others come from villages that have never been bombed or shelled — indeed, where there has been no significant military action at all. How many fall in this latter group, and why did they flee to Saigon-controlled territory? At present, there is no way of answering these questions, at least on the basis of published information. Yet the answers would have considerable political significance.

There are other questions that are often raised and, in my opinion, never satisfactorily answered: To what extent do the Viet Cong represent a local

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2100 Civilians Reported Slain by VC in 3 Years

Seized Data

VC Control Said to Be Slipping

Vietcong Recruiting Down, Captured Diary Shows

Cong Hurting? Captured Report Says It's So

Viet Nam headlines: meaningless or significant?

uprising, and to what extent have they been organized and maintained by powers outside of South Viet Nam? What are the political sympathies and aspirations of the South Vietnamese country people, who constitute more than three quarters of the total population? What effect did the overthrow of the Diem government have on Vietnamese public opinion in the cities and the countryside? How much force and how much persuasion is used in administering and controlling the civilian population in areas held by the Viet Cong? What is life like in Viet Cong territory?

It is not that there is a lack of information bearing on these questions, but rather that the information that is available leaves large patches of obscurity and doubt. A conscientious effort to draw together published information on such subjects as the sympathies of the Vietnamese farmers and the motivations of Vietnamese Communists has been made by Ralph K. White in the July, 1966, *Journal of Social Issues*. What is most striking about this summary to me, aside from its thoroughness and its effort to be fair, is the number of assumptions and inferences that have to be made if one is to reach conclusions about major questions involved in the war. The materials used by White, many of them originating with work-

ing journalists, take little account of regional differences within the country, changes over time, and the factors that bias almost any attempt to report from a country beset by guerilla warfare. White's summary underlines the principal difficulty that affects any dispassionate attempt to evaluate what is happening in Viet Nam: the basic data are poor.

This is not, however, intended to be a criticism of journalists who have been covering Viet Nam. They have included numerous brilliant performers who have combined a remarkable disregard for personal safety with hard work and perceptive reporting. The point is, rather, that traditional methods of journalism are unable to cope effectively with a situation such as the one now existing in Southeast Asia. As Charles Mohr of *The New York Times* put it in the discussion that was cited above: "When a problem becomes as complex and as bad and as confusing as Viet Nam, it begins to strain the limits of the talents that journalists have . . . And sometimes it's too much for us."

Some of the obstacles journalists face in Viet Nam are obvious — difficulties in moving about the country, cross-cultural communication problems, the near impossibility of reporting regularly from both sides of the line, and governmental secrecy on all sides. Two other obstacles are less obvious but probably more important. One is the undeveloped state of local communications, which are traditionally of great help to foreign correspondents. There are no Saigon newspapers that can play the role of *Le Monde* in Paris, or for that matter of almost any reasonably good American or European paper, in collating, sifting, and placing in perspective reports about local developments. North Vietnamese and Viet Cong radio broadcasts are even less informative about what is going on than are the Saigon press and radio. The foreign correspondent in Europe, and in many other parts of the world, stands on the shoulders of a host of local journalists who in effect do some of his work for him. In Viet Nam, a correspondent has to start almost at the bottom by piecing together crude bits of information.

A related difficulty is the scarcity of human sources who can be interviewed to obtain inter-

pretive judgments about current developments. American diplomatic and military personnel in Saigon are rotated so swiftly that they are likely to return to the United States at just the time when their insights would prove valuable. French experts, some of whom have given Viet Nam sustained attention, usually have to base their judgments on a fund of older information that is rapidly deviating from current reality. Vietnamese spokesmen are hampered not only by political pressures but also by the broad gulf that separates city people from country people and the educated from the uneducated. It is a rare city dweller who can make an adequate estimate of political trends in the villages. Here again, the foreign correspondent is much more on his own than he would be in Europe or most parts of the Americas.

Other difficulties could be cited, but these are perhaps sufficient to make the point. Their cumulative effect is that we are given descriptions of corruption in the Saigon administration, but cannot know very much about alternative systems that the Vietnamese might realistically choose. We are told about inflation, but have very little information about its effects on the life of the masses of country people. We are gorged with reports about small and large military engagements, but their political significance—if any—eludes us. When a murder occurs on the streets of New York, we are able presumably to interpret it in the light of a broad base of knowledge about the city and its problems; when similar violence erupts in Saigon or a Vietnamese village our ability to judge its significance is severely limited.

What might the press do to give us a better basis for analysis and judgments about Viet Nam and similar situations? Working by itself, it probably can accomplish relatively little. Certainly improvements could be made, but its record is already distinguished. If the press is to do a significantly better job, action by government and the academic community is also necessary.

The government should take the first step by reviewing its security classification policies and finding ways to make much more basic information available. I am thinking here not about sensational items of immediate news value—these are very likely to leak out anyway—but about

the low-level, day-to-day information flow that eventually influences policy as it filters upwards through the governmental hierarchy: reports from subordinate officials and field observers, captured documents, interrogations of captives and defectors, and materials received from Vietnamese government sources. A mass of information of this type is collected on a routine basis, partly read and partly digested, marked with a “confidential” or “secret” stamp, and filed.

Fuller disclosure of this basic information would admittedly not be easy to arrange. Some sources would have to be protected, or they would be physically endangered or otherwise silenced. Items that would give advance notice of military operations would have to be censored or withheld. In some cases the permission of the South Vietnamese government might be necessary.

But it is safe to say that relatively little energy or ingenuity has been devoted to releasing this kind of information. There are thousands of government officials who are empowered to classify information, and relatively few who are authorized to release it. With small additional expenditures it would be possible to issue a daily or weekly compendium of unevaluated materials from a wide variety of sources, much as Foreign Broadcast Information Service reports are now released.

Even if such a compendium could be issued, however, it would not solve the problem of providing adequate background information. A single unevaluated item is no more accurate an indication of the true state of affairs than a single interview by a journalist with a village chief. Furthermore, the Saigon press corps would find it difficult to use a greatly augmented flow of low-level information. A few juicy items might be picked up, and at first there might be a number of “now it can be told” stories, but Saigon reporters are already deluged with hand-outs, and would be likely to return soon to their established news-gathering practices. In addition, they would regard the increased information flow with suspicion (at least initially), observing that the government would be unlikely to release anything that did not support its policies.

To make a policy of fuller disclosure worthwhile, the involvement of academic scholars would

be necessary. It would be up to some of those whose primary focus of interest is Asian affairs to cumulate, analyze, and criticize the materials that were made available and to compare these with information from other sources. The work would be especially valuable if independent scholars, with foundation or other private support, were able to follow up some of the most significant trends suggested by the current flow of official materials. Scholars would also have to publish their work more promptly than is currently the prevailing practice in academic circles. As is the case with government, at least some academicians would have to revise some of their traditional working habits. It is perhaps utopian to suggest that either the one or the other party would be likely to comply.

If the government and the academic community were willing to play their parts as described above, then it would be the turn of the press to consider a modification of *its* working habits. Using academic evaluations as background, journalists could fit their current observations into a larger picture. On the basis of studies of land-holding patterns in different parts of South Viet Nam, they could assess the political importance of government — and Viet Cong — land reform programs and practices. In the light of what was known about Viet Cong mechanisms for controlling and administering villagers they would have better ways of interpreting the reactions of the rural population to guerrilla attacks or government maladministration. Refugee statistics and interviews with individual refugees would mean more in the context of descriptions of the refugee population as a whole. In the light of its own investigations, the press could criticize the work of scholars, and academicians could of course be counted on to return the compliment.

Interaction among government, scholars, and journalists could significantly improve public understanding of situations such as the one in Viet Nam. I advisedly do not use the word "cooperation," because the working of our system requires adversarial relationships between the groups, each following its own best standards. Preferably, this relationship should be of a friendly nature, but even a relationship based on antagonism would

be more in the public interest than one based on subservience of any one group. The governmental contribution to this interaction should be the release of more information, especially raw information that is used in policy formulation. Scholars, for their part, should be more willing to work on contemporary issues and independently to gather additional data on these issues, as well as to analyze the materials made available through government and news channels. The press should develop a greater capacity for using the concepts and the research results of social scientists in writing about current affairs.

This process would not only contribute to public understanding; it would also be likely to improve official policies. Government-sponsored analyses could be checked against independent studies of much the same material. Inadequate government analytical facilities could be improved. Much as in the case of newsmen, official specialists have to run as fast as they can to keep up with current events, only rarely can they take a leisurely, long look at an accumulated body of data. Most significant, our national resources for thinking about foreign policy are not concentrated exclusively in government bureaus; a great deal of constructive thought goes on in academic and journalistic circles. The more thoroughly these circles can be acquainted with the detailed information that goes into policy formulation, the more fruitful their contribution will be.

Viet Nam is not the only subject on which such a relationship among government, journalists, and scholars would be desirable, although it is perhaps the best current example. There are other issues, both foreign and domestic, where a similar relationship would be in the public interest: the foreign aid program, the war against poverty at home, and the search for international arms control agreements, to name only three. As problems with which governmental policies are concerned become increasingly complex, traditional styles of reporting will become less and less adequate. The journalist will be able to do the best possible job of serving a nourishing diet of information to the public only if the government supplies more of the basic materials and the scholar helps in the refining and packaging.

A SALISBURY CHRONICLE

Harrison E. Salisbury of *The New York Times* has carried on an extraordinary individual career on a newspaper not much given to the star system. In stories notable for their vividness and sweep, he has repeatedly lit up the gray pages of the *Times*. He reported the heavy-footed intrigues in Moscow after Stalin's death and later returned to Russia to proclaim The Thaw. He explored the psyches of the youth of Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant area and the smog of Los Angeles. In 1960, he toured the South and produced his famous "Fear and Hatred Grip Birmingham" story, which led to a libel suit and, indirectly, to a landmark Supreme Court decision on the right to criticize public officials. Early in 1966, he traveled the periphery of China, hoping, thus far in vain, to wangle an invitation inside.

To these Salisbury added at the end of 1966 another extraordinary foray: He became the first journalist representing a major American news organization to report from North Viet Nam since the United States became engaged in the war there. Through his own persistence and with the permission of the United States and North Vietnamese governments, he reached Hanoi on December 23. His first story appeared, with no advance warning, in the *Times* of December 25.

The articles from Hanoi were good examples of the Salisbury style. His writing has been likely to settle firmly on a consistent set of conclusions and to develop them with possibly inadequate regard to ambiguities or contradictions. (His Birmingham story was a classic case; his then managing editor, Turner Catledge, said that the *Times* stood by the story, but that he, Catledge, recognized that it presented an incomplete picture.) Thus a Salisbury story is more likely to be clear than balanced. He has been a continual target for critics

who profess to see covert liberalism or worse in his work.

The Salisbury manner of reporting was one factor bound to heighten the impact of the articles; the historical circumstances surrounding his trip were equally important. In the background lay the mottled story of government-press conflicts throughout the Vietnamese war — dating from before the fall of Ngo Dinh Diem down to last year's bitter dispute over leaks before the first bombing of the Hanoi-Haiphong region.

Another heightening circumstance, pointed out later by Salisbury himself, was the sparse attention given by American journalism to accounts appearing in non-American and non-Communist newspapers describing the effects of the bombing in North Viet Nam. In particular, the press failed to pick up a series appearing in *Le Monde* of Paris not long before Salisbury's trip.

On December 13 and 14, 1966, Communist news agencies charged, United States planes had hit residential areas in Hanoi. The response in Washington had been confused, with first a general denial that policy had changed, then a specific denial that Hanoi had been hit on the days in question, then, five days later, a hinted apology that said civilian targets may have been hit by accident. This concession was made on the day before Salisbury arrived in Hanoi.

Salisbury's first story, dated December 24, began with nine paragraphs of scene-setting; then Salisbury offered his observations on the raids:

Christmas Eve found residents in several parts of Hanoi still picking over the wreckage of homes said to have been damaged in the United States raids of December 13 and 14. United States officials have contended that no attacks in built-up or residential

Hanoi have been authorized or carried out. They have also suggested that Hanoi residential damage in the two raids could have been caused by defensive surface-to-air missiles that misfired or fell short. . . .

This correspondent is no ballistics specialist, but inspection of several damaged sites and talks with witnesses make it clear that Hanoi residents certainly believe they were bombed by United States planes, that they certainly observed United States planes overhead and that damage certainly occurred right in the center of town.

Hanoi is a very large, sprawling city. The city proper has a population of 600,000, and the surrounding metropolitan area brings the total to 1,100,000.

The built-up densely populated urban area extends for a substantial distance in all directions beyond the heavy-lined city boundaries shown on a map by the State Department and published in *The New York Times*.

For instance, the Yenvien rail yard, which was listed as one of the targets in the raids Dec. 14 and 15, is in a built-up area that continues southwest to the Red River with no visible breaks in residential quarters. Much the same is true of the Vandien truck part south of the city, which was another listed target.

Oil tanks between Yenvien and Gialam, listed as another target, are in a similarly populated region. It is unlikely that any bombing attack on such targets could be carried out without civilian damage and casualties.

There followed ten more paragraphs describing what Salisbury had seen or had been told, including "reported" casualty figures. He summed up his observations by writing: "Contrary to the impression given by United States communiques, on-the-spot inspection indicates that American bombing has been inflicting considerable civilian casualties in Hanoi and its environs. . . ."

Such a contentious conclusion invited retaliation from the Pentagon, but it did not come immediately. Instead, a Defense Department statement on December 26 acknowledged: "It is impossible to avoid all damage to civilian areas." The statement also embodied the first direct admission by the administration that such damage

had actually occurred. "The news is shocking," remarked a *Los Angeles Times* editorial, "chiefly because the public has been led to think otherwise." "... in this instance," the *Chicago Tribune* wrote, "the Communists have been more truthful than the Washington news managers. . . ."

The statement from the Pentagon was a response, solicited by the *Times*, to a second Salisbury story which became for a time the focus of controversy. The dispatch, dated December 25 and printed in the *Times* for December 27, concerned the repeated bombing of the town of Nam Dinh. Salisbury wrote:

The cathedral tower looks out on block after block of utter desolation; the city's population of 90,000 has been reduced to less than 20,000 because of the evacuation; 13 per cent of the city's housing, including the homes of 12,464 people, have been destroyed: 89 people have been killed and 405 wounded.

... one can see that United States planes are dropping an enormous weight of explosives on purely civilian targets. Whatever else there may be or might have been in Nam Dinh, it is the civilians who have taken the punishment.

In a story by Murrey Marder in *The Washington Post* the next day, December 28, there was a *pro forma* administration response: "Officials are particularly bitter that the attention to civilian casualties in the North has obscured the murder, kidnappings, arson and other acts of terrorism continually directed against civilians in South Vietnam by the Communists."

A further rebuttal appeared in the pages of the *Times* itself on December 30, in a "news analysis" article under the byline of Hanson W. Baldwin, the *Times* military analyst. Baldwin quoted "Pentagon sources" as saying that the North Vietnamese figures on civilian casualties cited in Salisbury's articles were "grossly exaggerated."

All these efforts merely nibbled at the edge. The frontal attack on Salisbury's work can be dated from the story by George C. Wilson in *The Washington Post* on New Year's Day, under the headline, "Salisbury 'Casualties' Tally With Viet Reds." The story charged that civilian casualties listed without attribution by Salisbury in the

SURVEY

bombing of Nam Dinh were "identical to those in a Communist propaganda pamphlet issued in November." Wilson wrote that Johnson administration officials were "furious." He went on to compare passages of the Salisbury stories with passages from the pamphlet, a copy of which had been "obtained" by the *Post*. The *Wall Street Journal* (January 6) said the story had been "planted" by the Pentagon.

The response from the *Times* was not strong. E. Clifton Daniel, the managing editor, noted that the pamphlet figures and the Salisbury figures came from the same source, the North Vietnamese government, and that they had been so attributed in a *later* dispatch. (On December 29, a rather obtrusive paragraph in the Salisbury dispatch had said: "It should be noted, incidentally, that all casualty estimates and statistics in these dispatches are those of North Vietnamese officials." The next paragraph said: "However, descriptions of bomb damage are based wholly on visual inspection.") The suggestion behind the *Post* story seemed clear enough — if Salisbury was using Communist statistics, what about the rest of his reports?

Another item, also apparently promoted by the Defense Department, turned up repeatedly at this time. It was an article, originally printed in *Look* (November 29, 1966), by Norman Barrymaine, a Briton who had called at Haiphong aboard a Polish freighter. It was offered as support of American bombing's effectiveness against military objectives. It appeared as a reprint in McGraw-Hill's *Aviation Week and Space Technology* for December 26; *U.S. News & World Report* said that military officials were citing it to refute Salisbury. The article was quoted in *Time* (January 6). Paradoxically, Barrymaine was considerably vaguer than Salisbury in distinguishing what he had seen from what he had been told.

Meanwhile there was a continuing dispute over Nam Dinh and whether it contained military tar-

gets. Salisbury had not stated that the town contained no legitimate targets, but had reported the mayor's opinion that it contained none. He had also reported extensive damage to the civilian areas and noted that people often lived in the same streets as military targets. Salisbury had erred, however, in writing that American communiques had never mentioned Nam Dinh. A rebuttal came from the commanding officer of a naval air squadron that had bombed Nam Dinh, by way of the *Norfolk Ledger-Star*. The officer, Commander Robert C. Mandeville, described Nam Dinh as a military target, and heavily defended. This item was used in *Time* and *U.S. News*.

At this time, the debate among journalists, carried on primarily by columnists and editorial writers, began to warm up. Salisbury was sturdily defended against the Pentagon by James Wechsler in the *New York Post*: "... it is suggested that some criticism he had voiced of U.S. Asian policy won him this special privilege [of being in Hanoi]. But that is really to call the man a fraud; would any one of his detractors dare to do so in his presence — and in the face of his documentation?"

A semi-authoritative view issued from James Reston in the *Times* for January 6. He noted that Salisbury's admission to Hanoi could have been "a propaganda ploy" or perhaps a unorthodox bit of diplomacy, like the break in the Berlin blockade that was revealed through Stalin's communications with the Hearst newspapers in 1949. Reston then considered the criticisms of Salisbury:

"Salisbury has been criticized by some newspapers and periodicals for putting out Communist propaganda which the same newspapers and periodicals then published themselves. He has also been criticized by some officials for reporting Communist figures on the civilian bomb damage in North Vietnam, which is understandable, since he disclosed information the Johnson Administration had concealed."

Others took a dimmer view. William Randolph Hearst Jr. in his column of January 1 was evidently alluding to the Salisbury dispatches when he compared "news and opinion by war critics" to the work of Lord Haw Haw and Tokyo Rose. Crosby S. Noyes, foreign affairs editor of the Wash-

ington *Star* wrote that the government ought not to have allowed Salisbury to go. Chalmers Roberts of *The Washington Post* called Salisbury "Ho's chosen instrument" to halt the bombing. *Time* (January 6) said that "many observers" believed Salisbury's stories to be an "uncritical, one-dimensional picture."

In his column of January 9, Joseph Alsop announced: "The right way to look at the mission of Harrison Salisbury is very simple indeed. Salisbury was invited to Hanoi to make propaganda for a proposal long pressed by the Soviets, and he accepted with alacrity." The proposal, he added, was the Soviet campaign to halt the bombing. Alsop continued: "Whether a United States reporter ought to go to an enemy capital to give the authority of his by-line to enemy propaganda figures is indeed an interesting question."

In the issue of his *Weekly* newsletter dated January 9, I. F. Stone referred to the hue-and-cry over "Harrison Salisbury's Dastardly War Crime." Salisbury's trip, said Stone, "has few parallels in history and should make Americans proud of our free institutions." "But the Salisbury exploit," he added, "has evoked as mean, petty and unworthy reaction as I have ever seen in the press corps."

One column that differed in substance from other criticisms of Salisbury was that of Joseph Kraft on January 9. He dismissed most of the attacks as "so inappropriate, so vehement, and so much the handmaidens of official policy on Viet Nam, that they mainly serve to furnish new reasons for introducing more flexibility into that policy."

Kraft continued: "The case to be made against Salisbury is that his reporting is second rate. He had a four-hour interview with Premier Pham Van Dong which produced a muddle because his account of the talk is sharply at odds with the published text of what the Premier said. He sets out the stands of Hanoi and the National Liberation Front, or Vietcong, with only the sketchiest background material on their past positions. He puts himself in the center of his dispatches, and couches them in the polemical 'now the American people are finally going to know the truth' style. . . . He does not indicate explicitly the source of



(Associated Press Cablefoto from Warsaw)
An American newspaper this morning published this photo on Page 1, crediting it to its correspondent in Hanoi. But the Associated Press, which sent an identical photo to THE NEWS, credits it to a Communist source. This is the complete caption as sent by the AP:

HANOI SAYS THIS IS DAMAGED STREET

The caption accompanying this Viet Nam News Agency radiophoto from Hanoi, monitored Dec. 29, in Warsaw, Poland, says: "Damage in Phuc Tan St., Hoa Kiem quarter, Hanoi, where an estimated 300 houses were destroyed Dec. 13. Authorities put casualties at four killed and 10 wounded. Site is on river near Paul Doumer Bridge."

The New York News published Harrison Salisbury's most widely used photograph on December 30, with captions as shown. AP later corrected the credit, which had been lost in transmission from Hanoi to Warsaw. The News did not.

his material, nor distinguish sharply what he saw himself and from what others saw . . ." Kraft attributed such defects to lack of preparation and Salisbury's filing of voluminous dispatches from the time he arrived.

Howard K. Smith of the American Broadcasting Company offered another somewhat technical critique on the air on January 12, and a variation of his comments appeared in *The National Review* of January 24. He took care to include the *Times* itself, "which has begun cutting corners and abandoning pretenses of balanced reporting." Smith renewed the charge that Salisbury had used propaganda statistics without attribution, had failed to use available non-Communist sources of information in Hanoi (a charge easily rebutted by any careful reading of Salisbury's dispatches), and had falsely reported on United States communiques about Nam Dinh. Smith concluded: ". . . the *Times'* carelessness about the simple basic precautions of fair and accurate reporting has become suspicious."

Salisbury's last story from Hanoi was datelined January 7 and was printed in the *Times* of January 9. Arriving in Hong Kong, he began almost immediately to file a series of five voluminous stories recounting his visit, but not revising the main points he had established. In his first Hong Kong story he noted that the International Con-

trol Commission plane had brought in two more Americans, representatives of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. The pair also happened to be journalists by trade — one Harry Ashmore, formerly editor of *The Arkansas Gazette*, the other William C. Baggs, editor of the *Miami News*.

Ashmore and Baggs left on January 13. After they came back, a series by Baggs (datelined Hanoi) was distributed by The Associated Press. In a story that appeared on January 19, he specifically affirmed what Salisbury had written about damage in Hanoi. (The paragraph mentioning Salisbury did not appear in *The Washington Post*, although it was placed high in the story as transmitted.) His next story, published January 20, described Baggs's inspection of Nam Dinh and his judgment that neighborhoods of no military value had been bombed. Interviews with Ashmore in newspapers and on television showed his general agreement with Baggs.

Baggs, probably in part because of his more cautious tone, was subjected to little or none of the enflaming fire that had been directed at Salisbury. Baggs's dispatches, in fact, may have marked a tacitly observed turning point, the acceptance of the fact that stories from Hanoi could now be looked at primarily as news. Salisbury had broken (to use a phrase he employed in a television appearance) "the pattern of acceptability;" now it appeared that a new, broader pattern might take its place. The United States Information Agency found in its surveys of the world press that the United States had gathered praise for permitting Salisbury's trip.

Events seemed to have come full circle with an AP story of January 21, which was printed on inside pages of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. It began: "Intelligence sources said today that aerial photographs showed considerable damage to civilian structures as well as to military targets in some places in North Viet Nam." This terse statement by no means vindicated the whole of Harrison Salisbury's reporting, but it showed at least the United States government might be starting to deal with the facts of the bombing on realistic terms.

JAMES BOYLAN

The "right to lie"

By MARTIN GERSHEN

Arthur Sylvester, the assistant secretary of defense for public affairs who announced his resignation on January 5, 1967, was haunted for four years by reports of a statement he made on December 6, 1962. As guest of honor at a dinner in New York of the Deadline Club of Sigma Delta Chi not long after the Cuban missile crisis, he told the world that when this nation was faced with nuclear disaster the government had a "right to lie." At least this is the best remembered part of Sylvester's statements that night and the phrase — or variations of it — has been used widely to demonstrate that the government was following policies of deceit and deception.

Sylvester has repeatedly denied making the statement in the form in which it is frequently quoted. The questions that should be answered are: What did he say? Has his statement been used accurately? Has it been used fairly?

The first question is answered readily. Sylvester did make a statement about a government's right to lie; it is preserved on two rolls of sound tape in the possession of the American Broadcasting Company. His comment came in response to a question from a United Press International reporter, Jack V. Fox, who does not remember the exact wording of his question, but believes that it is essentially the same as that published in a transcript of the evening's session prepared by the American Newspaper Publishers Association. (The question by Fox happened to be the only one not picked up by the microphone.) In the ANPA transcript, it reads as follows:

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL: What about half-truths? For instance, when President Kennedy interrupted his political tour

Martin Gershen, New York bureau chief for the Newark Star-Ledger, covered the war in Viet Nam in 1965 and had an Advanced International Reporting Program fellowship at Columbia.

in Chicago and returned to Washington, the reason given was that he had a cold.

The response, according to the tape:

SYLVESTER: Again let me begin by saying that as Assistant Secretary of Defense I do not comment on anything about the President or the White House. So that if we could get that aside and talk to the general point, it would seem to me basic, all through history, that a government's right — and by a government I mean a people — since in our country, in my judgment, as I understand it, that the people express and have the right to express and do express every two years and then every four years what government they want, that it's in the government's right, if necessary, to lie to save itself for when it's going up toward a nuclear war. I-I-I-It seems — this seems to me basic — basic.

Sylvester has consistently defended the whole statement. In an appearance before the Moss Committee on March 25, 1963, Sylvester was asked about the statement. His response (as summarized in the *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* for that year) was as follows: He said that his statement was a "shorthand answer," given "at a dinner he did not know was being reported." He went on to say that (in the *Almanac's* words): "The Government did not have a right to lie to the American people, but it did have the right in time of extreme crisis to attempt to mislead the enemy, which might in turn mislead the American people. He implied that an answer of 'no comment' by a public information officer would not have the same effect as a false answer because most newsmen took 'no comment' as a confirmation of the information they were checking."

When I approached him without warning at an Overseas Press Club dinner in New York on July 6, 1966, he said, when I asked him about the "right to lie" statement:

"I said I believed it was all right under the circumstances in that one particular time. In fact I said the Government had a duty to do it. The Government had a right and a duty to lie or else it would have alerted the Russians to what we were doing. Remember, those missiles ninety miles away from us were operational. The President went on the air seventy-two hours later and told

the people he had moved troops into position without the Russians knowing about it. It was a case of life and death. The Government has no right to lie to save itself politically or otherwise. But to protect its own people? Yes."

The first public impression of Sylvester's remarks came in the stories that appeared in newspapers of the day after the dinner. The UPI story by Sylvester's questioner, Fox, put the quotation in the fifth paragraph of the story as carried by the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. But the *Post-Dispatch* desk lifted it to prominence with the headline:

**SYLVESTER SAYS
GOVERNMENT HAS
'RIGHT TO LIE'**

The New York Times, the most widely used newspaper of record, had the following lead on its story of December 7, 1962:

When a nation's security is threatened, as that of the United States was during the recent Cuban crisis, that nation's leaders are justified in telling lies to its people, Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, told a press gathering here last night.

The third and fourth paragraphs read:

Mr. Sylvester said that it was the inherent right of a government 'to lie to save itself.'

He added that the judgment over whether it was right or wrong for a government to advance such falsehoods was made in a democracy when its citizens went to the polls.

The headline over the story read:

U.S. AIDE DEFENDS LYING TO NATION

The *New York World-Telegram & Sun* for the same date carried a concise lead:

The government is justified in telling lies to the people if the nation's security is threatened.

The headline:

**SECURITY LYING
CALLED PROPER
BY SYLVESTER**

In each of these cases, the reporting of the statement was more or less correct (less, in the case of the *Times*) but the headlines tended to remove the qualifications.

The statement has been associated with Sylvester's name ever since and has been used in

SURVEY

print frequently, sometimes without his important qualification — that he referred to a time of extreme crisis. This was graphically illustrated in *Time* in 1963. In a story in the issue of March 29, reporting Sylvester's appearance before the Moss Committee, *Time* quoted Sylvester as saying in 1962: "... the Government has the 'right, if necessary, to lie to save itself when it's going up in to a nuclear war.'"

A week later, *Time* for April 5, 1963, under a heading, "Never Say Lie," shortened the quotation to "... the Government has the 'inherent right, if necessary, to lie to save itself.'"

But this quotation was harmless compared with other shortened versions, which seemed designed to be used against Sylvester or to prove that the government lies about everything. For example, Henry J. Taylor, asserting that the administration wasn't telling the public all the facts about Viet Nam, used Sylvester as "proof" that Washington could not be trusted. In his column for Scripps-Howard Newspapers on February 7, 1966, Taylor wrote that Sylvester was "famous for his contention that 'it's the inherent right of the government to lie to save itself.'" Taylor wrote also that he received a letter in August, 1965, from Sylvester, denying "in the most intimidating language" that he had made the statement "on Dec. 2, 1962." (Taylor got the date wrong.)

Another shortened use occurred in an article in *The New York Times Magazine* for October 22, 1966, by a British journalist, Anthony Howard, comparing Washington and London reporting. "If Sylvester," Howard wrote, "had made his notorious remark in a British context about the inherent right of a government 'to lie, if necessary, to save itself,' there would, of course, have been protest, but nothing like the outcry in the United States."

Even stories on Sylvester's resignation had the short version. *Newsday* for Jan. 6, 1967, wrote: "Sylvester declared that it was a government's inherent right 'to lie to save itself.'" *The Wash-*

ington Post for January 6 made it even shorter: "His most controversial utterance was his contention that 'the Government has the right to lie.'"

But in addition to the shortened quotation, there has been wide use of the full quotation or its essence, accurately presented but stretched to cover cases unrelated to the nuclear crisis.

In the spring of 1966, Sylvester became involved in a dispute with several Viet Nam correspondents over what he had said or not said to them at an informal meeting in Saigon in August, 1965. In a letter in the *Overseas Press Club Bulletin*, Malcolm W. Browne wrote that in deciding whether to believe Sylvester, it would be well to remember "that this is the same Sylvester who, during the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, went on record with these statements of policy...."

Browne then quoted another well-known statement by Sylvester beginning, "The generation of news by actions taken by the government..." — and then the "right to lie" statement, used to suggest that Sylvester could not be trusted.

Another such use occurred in *The Wall Street Journal* for October 14, 1966. In an editorial, "On Credibility," the *Journal* reviewed conflicting stories on the Army manpower situation and concluded: "Pentagon spokesman Arthur Sylvester once explained why, when national survival was at issue, the Government had to tell the people lies. Perhaps he'd now like to explain why it has to spread total confusion as well."

Has Sylvester's statement been treated unfairly?

Theodore C. Sorensen, in his book, *Kennedy*, answered that question best when he observed that Sylvester spoke "candidly and informally" at the newspapermen's fraternity dinner that December night. Sorensen continues: "But Sylvester's words were attacked out of all context and proportion by a torrent of newspaper and Congressional critics."

Certainly, the free use of the shortened quotation in headlines or in stories did not do Sylvester justice. Sylvester's 1962 reply made him extremely vulnerable and journalists have not hesitated to use the weapon he handed them. Critics of government credibility who have used Sylvester's statement would do well to aim their shots more carefully.

How I tried to write a letter to the Times and found myself cut to the quick...

By ROBERT YOAKUM

This informal study of the tightwad policy of *The New York Times* on pre-election comment from readers was inspired by my own failure to crack the letters column of that paper before two elections, leaving me vulnerable to the charge of being, simply, a sorehead. But the history of man's expanding knowledge is filled with examples of irritating personal experiences that led to great discoveries, so I'll proceed in the hope that this is one more such.

A week and a half before the bizarre presidential election of 1964, I fired off a letter to the *Times*, in which I pointed out that the man they had endorsed in our district for the United States House of Representatives was, unlike many Republicans in the East, a supporter of Senator Goldwater. It was a one-page letter, devoted entirely to a recital of key issues on which the Republican candidate agreed with Goldwater and on which the Democratic candidate agreed with the *Times*. The Republican was Thomas Meskill, mayor of New Britain from 1962 to 1964. His Democratic opponent was Bernard Grabowski, an incumbent congressman by virtue of having won the representative-at-large seat in 1962. The two were contesting in the new Sixth District of northwest Connecticut.

I was certain the letter would be printed. It even seemed possible that the *Times* would change

Robert Yoakum, former city editor of the European Edition of the New York Herald Tribune, writes letters to newspapers and, in free moments, works on a book about ethics in contemporary America.

its endorsement. Admittedly, I had never heard of such a thing, but that only made my Mitty-like speculations more exciting. Would the apologetic editorial point to my letter as the reason for the switch? Would this be a journalistic "first"? Even in retrospect, my reasons for being certain back in 1964 seemed good:

1. I knew of no other instance in which the *Times* was supporting a Goldwater man.
2. I knew of no other instance in which the *Times* was advocating the dumping of an incumbent congressman who agreed with them.
3. Readers who did not know points 1 and 2 would be seriously misled if no letter or comment appeared at all.

The only letter that appeared, however, was not in print and it was to me, not from me. It was written by John B. Oakes, editor of the editorial page. I quote it in full:

We were glad to have your expression of opinion on the relative merits of the candidates in the Sixth Congressional District in Connecticut, even though it differed from our own.

We made our judgment on the basis of reports from *Times* correspondents in Connecticut and Washington that Representative Grabowski was not a very effective member of Congress, despite a superficially attractive voting record, and on the fact that Mr. Meskill's record as Mayor of New Britain indicated that he was a man of considerable ability and moderate views.

May I call your attention to the fact that this morning's *Times* carried a story, a clipping of which I enclose, listing Mr. Meskill as one of seventy-five Republican nominees regarded by the Ripon Society as potentially the best the party has to offer. This is a leading anti-Goldwater group.

Mr. Oakes's letter arrived only four days before the election, giving me too little time to proselytize the Ripon Society and the editorial board of the *Times*. Grabowski won handily without the support of the *Times* or my letter.

This time, in 1966, things were different. Representative Grabowski had to run without the help of Barry Goldwater, the greatest vote getter for the Democrats in these parts since Grover

Cleveland. For this and a number of other reasons (including the presence of a "peace candidate" on the ballot), it was clear that the vote would be close. I was dismayed, therefore, when the *Times* again endorsed Mr. Meskill. Again, I sent off an issue-by-issue letter to the editor, contrasting Grabowski's voting record and the *Times* editorial record with positions advocated by Meskill in 1964 and 1966, and enclosing several press releases to show that the Meskill quotations I had used were in context. Later, when I learned that Meskill (the only Republican congressional candidate in Connecticut endorsed by the *Times*) was the only candidate in Connecticut to be endorsed by the ultra-conservative Americans for Constitutional Action, I relayed that fact to Mr. Oakes by telegram.

For five days nothing happened. Then, on November 1, I received a call from a Miss Liebowitz, who told me that my letter would be run but that it had to be cut. Instructions to run a shortened letter, she said, had come down to her from Mr. Oakes by way of her superior, Miss Huger, who was in charge of the letters department. I agreed that the letter was too long and called back a little later with a shorter version.

Miss Liebowitz called back later to say that it was still too long. It would have to be cut quickly to 300 words, she said, and again explained, as she had on the first call, that the pre-election pressure on the *Times* letters section was enormous. "You can understand, I'm sure," she said. "We aren't even able to give that much space to people writing about campaigns right here in New York." I expressed sympathy, but pointed out that nowhere else, to my knowledge, had the *Times* put its prestige behind a man who sounded like Ronald Reagan. "After all," I added, "the winner will be one of the 435 men who will vote on taxes, wars, and such. They will have no small influence on the fate of mankind."

"Well, I only work here," she replied.

My next version was ready a half hour later. It was still forty words over the 300 limit, according to Miss Liebowitz in yet another call, but it would be set in type anyway, and Mr. Oakes could look it over. I went to bed that night thinking that the *Times* editorial page was still faithful to Sec-

tion VI, Part 2, of the Canons of Journalism, which says: "It is the privilege, as it is the duty, of a newspaper to make prompt and complete correction of its own serious mistakes of fact or opinion, whatever their origin."

Miss Huger herself called the next day. She said that the letter was still too long. As a matter of fact, she said, Mr. Oakes now wanted it reduced to "one or two paragraphs." Poor Miss Huger! Poor Miss Liebowitz! Caught between Mr. Oakes's de-escalation and an increasingly irate reader from Connecticut! Their position was unenviable, and I did not and do not wish them ill. I wanted only to get into their paper a point-by-point challenge of the *Times*'s mysterious choice. I explained that a one- or two-paragraph lump generalization from a Mr. Yoakum in Lakeville would have no meaning. "That's too bad," said Miss Huger. "We won't be able to use anything, then. You probably don't realize how much election material we have to run from other areas." On that familiar note our strained exchanges ended.

I had noticed that for a couple of days prior to Miss Liebowitz's call no letters dealing with the election had appeared at all. Afterward, I watched for the deluge of election comment that I had been told was still to be run. The deluge never came. There was one heavy day, Saturday, November 5, when 47 inches of letters were used, all dealing with the campaign. But the next day—two days before the polls were to open—there was one 2¾-inch letter about the campaign and 60 inches of correspondence that had nothing to do with the imminent vote.

After the election, which Meskill won by 81,973 to Grabowski's 79,458, I wondered whether any of the decisive 1,258 citizens had taken the advice of 43rd Street and switched to what a loyal *Times* reader would assume—with no evidence to the contrary available in that paper—was a liberal Republican. Propelled by this concern, and by ordinary curiosity, I decided to find out just how much pre-election comment or contrary opinion had been admitted.

Some of the eight newspapers that enter my home daily were letting their campaign letters spill over to a second editorial page—which the

weekday *Times* conspicuously lacks—and they evidenced a free and formidable flow of protest and even occasional humor. Even I, however, was surprised at the results of my survey of the *Times*. In the two weeks preceeding the election, *non-election letters in the Times outmeasured those dealing with the campaign by more than two to one*. On four days the *Times* let in no outside comment at all on election issues, which had occupied, over the preceding months, yards of space in the columns produced by their own editorial writers. The total from October 25 through November 7 was 172 column inches of election-related letters—about twelve inches a day.

My letter, set in type, ran to nine or ten inches. More than forty inches was printed in three Sunday editions (October 23, 30, and November 6) on the subject of unrest in Nigeria. I am ordinarily interested in Nigeria, but during a congressional showdown I should think this kind of illumination, lifted from a letter two days before the election, could be postponed:

While roundly and ethnocentrically condemning the Ibo's cultural heritage, Mr. Muffett does not mention that the Hausa-Fulani hierarchy of bureaucratic emirs was well suited to the imposition of British colonial rule as directed by Frederick Lugard in 1900, and that the easterners' communal village life could not be well integrated into the colonial system . . .

I know the *Times* must bear the torch for the long trip, and I am aware that the *Times* can't exhibit the same proportion of generosity to its letter-writing readers as *The Berkshire Eagle*, for example. (The *Eagle*, with 30,000 circulation, ran 435 inches of political letters from October 22 through November 5—more than double the *Times* space). Just the same, Big Daddy should make room for a steady and large stream of debate during those weeks when Americans, including *Times* readers, are making up their minds about how they will vote. In that same November 6 paper, quoted above, where readers' views on the campaign were given 2¾ inches, 10 inches were given to "Canyon Dams Opposed," 11 inches were given to "U.S. as Debtor in 'Brain Drain,'" and one foot went to "For World Law."

It should be admitted, though, that they are even-tempered up there on Mt. Olympus. The reply from Mr. Oakes this time, as in 1964, was friendly, even though my cover note had included some testy jabbing. He was also, as in 1964, silent about why the letter hadn't been run.

His letter ended my dialogue with the editorial department of the *Times*. I now feel even greater sympathy for that worker for *Time* magazine (no relation), who, according to *The New Yorker*, felt so oppressed by the air of omniscience around him that he had an occasional strong impulse to rush into the corridor and shout, "*Time* is not omniscient!" He feared, however, that this might bring the building down around him. So, out of caution and respect, I won't say that the *Times* editorial board is not omniscient. I do think, though, that the building wouldn't tumble if they made room for a little more dissent, particularly around election time.

The News holds court

When the New York *News* becomes deeply interested in a trial, it is sometimes hard to tell whether the affair is a public proceeding or an event sponsored by that newspaper, like the Harvest Moon Ball. A recent case in point was the trial of Dr. Carl Coppolino in Freehold, New Jersey, on the charge of murdering a retired Army colonel, the husband of his former mistress.

The paper selected two stars for the occasion: Mary Coppolino, the doctor's second wife and not herself a participant in the trial, and F. Lee Bailey, the defense attorney, who had gained fame in handling the case of Dr. Samuel Sheppard.

The *News* of Tuesday, December 6, reported the first day of the trial. On page one was a four-column, nine-inch-deep picture of Bailey walking from his private plane with Mrs. Coppolino, who had met him at the county airport. All of page three was used for the story, with Theo Wilson's lead putting first things first:

"Freehold, N.J., Dec. 5—A DAILY NEWS reader who works for the Good Humor Ice Cream Co. was sworn as a juror this afternoon in the Dr. Carl Coppolino murder trial here."

The next day, December 7, the attorney had

the headline on page one: "BAILEY TRAINS/GUNS ON WIDOW/HINTS COPPOLINO HAD AN AFFAIR." The pictures on page three included one of Mrs. Coppolino smiling and Mrs. Coppolino lunching with Bailey.

Miss Wilson reported in her story that Bailey had asked the prospective jurors, with the exception of one, what newspaper they read:

"Many named THE NEWS, and Bailey (once popping a large wink at THE NEWS reporter in the front row) asked a series of questions to find out if the newspaper accounts had prejudiced the prospect. None of THE NEWS readers said they had been prejudiced."

On December 8, the Coppolino trial failed to make page one, but still dominated page three. Miss Wilson reported in her fifth paragraph that "of the three men sworn today, two were readers of THE NEWS, as are three others already sworn."

But Bailey did the *News's* major promotion that day. To a prospective juror, George Philips, who was later accepted and became foreman, Bailey, according to Miss Wilson, "made the crack after Philips said he read THE NEWS:

"There is some suspicion that THE DAILY NEWS is owned and controlled by a syndicate of prosecutors."

"Philips had already said he had read 'everything about the case' in THE NEWS, but he also said he had formed no opinion about Coppolino's guilt or innocence, and agreed with Bailey that a

case should be tried only in the court room.

"The name of THE NEWS came up in the questioning of the prospects today almost as much as that of the defendant.

"If a prospect named other papers, Bailey asked:

"What? You don't read THE DAILY NEWS?"

"And if a prospect said he read several papers, including THE NEWS, Bailey quickly asked: 'And just what did you read about the case in THE DAILY NEWS?' ignoring the others.

"Despite his crack about trial by newspapers, about the 'stuff' printed in the papers and remarks about only the prosecutor's side being printed by the press, Bailey was quick to accept some NEWS readers.

"The prosecutor, however, used a peremptory challenge to dismiss a mortician, the first Negro called since the trial started, who said he 'scanned' THE NEWS. Bailey had accepted the undertaker after putting him through an intensive interrogation about what he had read and what opinions he had formed."

In the December 9 story, Miss Wilson gave a box score:

"Seven of the sworn jurors told Bailey they were readers of THE NEWS and one other said today he had glanced at it while waiting call as a prospective juror.

"Despite Bailey's oft-repeated cracks about 'trial by press,' he was quick to accept this many

Stars of the trial: page-one photo of Mrs. Coppolino and F. Lee Bailey, the defense attorney, in the News, December 6



Above: Mrs. Coppolino on way to lunch, and (at left) Mrs. Coppolino eating lunch with Bailey, both from News, December 7

NEWS readers, because they swore they had not formed any opinions on Coppolino's guilt or innocence."

In editions of December 15, the front page headline was: "COOL COPPOLINO TESTIFIES—/HE WAS A LOVER,/NOT A KILLER." The picture showed that the defendant "manages to smile as he leaves court." On the back display page, which normally carries only sports, there was a photo with the cutlines: "In search of a Christmas present for her husband, Carl, Mrs. Mary Coppolino looks over ties in a Freehold, N.J., haberdashery shop after hearing Carl's testimony in his murder trial at Freehold yesterday." The heading read: "Mrs. Coppolino Has Hopes of a Merry Christmas."

The photos inside were familiar—a smiling Mrs. Coppolino, Bailey walking with an aide, Coppolino emerging from police van. There was one exception. There was also a three-column picture showing Bailey leaving a light-colored auto, with the inscription on the door, "The News/New York's Picture Newspaper/Radio Car." The cutline: "Defense attorney F. Lee Bailey gets out of NEWS car after getting ride into Freehold."

That day, Wednesday, December 14, both sides rested their cases, and the defense and prosecution made their summation on Thursday, December 15. The *News* front page for December 16 told the result: "Not Guilty!/Doc Still Held for Wife-Murder/Trial in Fla.; Jury Out 4½

Hrs." Coppolino was shown smiling. The back page had a picture of Mrs. Coppolino decorating a Christmas tree "while awaiting jury's verdict." The *News* reported that when she was told the verdict she gasped: "Oh, it's a great, big, beautiful world." The quotation was used for the caption of the picture.

On the inside pages the *News* used a five-column photo at the top of page three of the jury entering the courthouse and a one-column picture of Bailey carrying a clearly identifiable copy of the *Daily News* "outside court."

Although his New Jersey trial was over, the *News* was not finished with the doctor and his family. February was the date set for his trial in Florida on the charge he murdered his first wife. Bailey was again scheduled to defend.

On December 21 the *News* front page picture was of "Doc and Mary Home for Holidays," showing them gathered with their four children around a book with a Christmas tree in the background. Just folks.

THOMAS F. MITCHELL

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Right: Bailey emerging from a News car, photo of December 15, 1966. Far right: Bailey after the trial, December 16, carrying a copy of the *News*



Oracles and their audiences

The columnists' role in Washington power and policy

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

¶ In Geneva an Eastern European diplomat listened to an American proposal and, frowning, told the American delegate that he must have missed his latest instructions from Washington. Asked what made him think so, the diplomat replied, "Mr. Reston in *The New York Times* this morning states quite a different position."

¶ In the coffee shop of the Hotel Statler in Washington on October 27, 1962, John Scali, diplomatic correspondent for the American Broadcasting Company, accused Aleksandr Fomin, counsellor of the Russian embassy, of a double-cross. Scali had agreed to be the go-between for the Russian embassy in settling the Cuba missile crisis. Russia, apparently having agreed to a deal, had just added a new demand that the United States remove its missiles from Turkey. Fomin denied this was really new. "After all, Walter Lippmann mentioned it..."

¶ In 1958, referring to the methods of columnists Joseph and Stewart Alsop, Patrick O'Donovan wrote, "Officials who do not speak up, clearly and frankly, will be admonished from the other side of their desks in terms proper from headmaster to nasty little boys. If they persist, they will be destroyed by opinion."

¶ Senator Paul Douglas, in his 1952 book, *Ethics in Government*, said, "Columnists like Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen...serve as unofficial inspectors general and help prevent

such open bribery as occurred in the era of President Grant."

¶ Writing in 1960, one columnist, William F. Buckley, Jr., said of another, in the cruelest of metaphors, "Drew Pearson...is about as reliable as the New Haven Railroad."

These are common views of the impact of the American political columnist on his society: the voice of the governmental subconscious, viceroy of political kings, imperious controller of public emotion, proctor of public servants and shabby loudmouth unworthy of belief.

Syndicated columnists can be any of these. But mostly they are not. Their primary impact is not on the general public, though it is important that they be widely read. Nor do they carry great weight in communities across the country, though it is helpful for them to be seen regularly by local leaders. The most direct influence of political columnists is on a few hundred men in that most untypical of American cities, Washington.

There are—to guess wildly—fewer than 400 men whose reading of syndicated columns produces palpable effects. This list includes the President of the United States and his immediate staff, the Secretaries of State and of Defense and their closest subordinates, key men in the bureaucracies, a few men in Congress, the effective members of the working press in the capital, top men in the foreign embassies, and an assortment of special brokers of power.

Around these men are woven threads of power in Washington—in Congress, the diplomatic corps, the national press and the Washington newspapers, the troops of the bureaucracies—all of which respond to the columnists and reverberate with the waves of reaction that come down from the figures at the top. All of them know that they are reading a column at about the same time as the President of the United States, and, more-

This is the final article in Ben H. Bagdikian's series on public affairs columnists. The series, which began in the fall, 1964, issue, was supported by a grant to Columbia by the Dell Publishing Company Foundation.

over, that the President knows they are reading it.

Outside Washington, at about the same time, the columns are also being read by local political and business leaders who may have a direct interest in the subject matter, by the local newspaper editors who often take their cue from a trusted column, and by others with special influence, like campus intellectuals and activists.

The general public provides millions of readers, whose responses are profoundly important but whose reactions are almost always slow, hesitant, and influenced more by leadership's reaction to the column than by the column itself. Ultimately, the columnist's influence on men and events depends importantly on his influence on generalized public opinion, but ultimately takes a long time. Before public opinion is formed and expressed — in acute reaction or at election time — anticipation will have forced leadership to act.

Like page-one items in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, the columnist is a major contributor to setting the daily political tone in the national hierarchy. Around those journalistic nuclei are formed a remarkable critical mass of attention; every morning between 7 and 9, every important person in Washington is reading the same thing, and each reader knows the others are thinking the same thoughts. The columnists who are not published in Washington have little effect on national policy. Because national leaders in and out of public office read the top columnists before the day's work begins, columnists published in the morning have more influence than those in the afternoon.

Columns are an elite intelligence system of the highest order, and more effective than any memo. A subcabinet officer or member of Congress or ambassador who cannot get his message directly to the President through ordinary channels can do it through a column — and reach his target at breakfast time. Columns are often instruments of revolt, shooting rebellious messages direct into headquarters, the guerilla protected by anonymity and the camouflage of the columnist's name.

Columns can be the well-placed lash that starts a stampede of the conventional press. Correspondents in Washington and their editors back home often pick up leaks, hints, suggestions, accusations, and innuendoes printed in syndicated columns and insist that government spokesmen explain. The free-form journalism permitted the columnist can force anonymous or subjective ideas into the disciplined columns of news.

The distribution of power in a democracy and the response of power to public opinion have been traced by many analysts — de Tocqueville, Lord

Bryce, Walter Lippmann, C. Wright Mills, Douglass Cater. But the power structures have become more intense, and the effect of the press, particularly the columnist, more dynamic in recent years. The involvement of the federal government in the life of the citizen has increased, and, therefore, has raised the citizen's interest in government. The power of the Presidency and the dissemination of its symbolism via television have made the President vastly more concerned with public opinion. At the same time, the bureaucracy has forced any President who wants to manage it to remain sensitive to its moods. A rebellious agency that catches the ear of Evans & Novak has transformed a minor irritation that annoys a subcabinet officer into a declaration of intramural war to which the President must respond.

Presidents' friends

Not every man printed in Washington before dawn is sure of the President's eye. Only a few are capable of spoiling the Secretary of State's breakfast. The elements of success in attaining such awesome power include force of logic, influence in the outer rings of national power — and the man's sources. The most prestigious source, though hardly the only important one, is the President. Most columnists have a close relationship with part of the national leadership and not a few with Presidents.

James Reston is one of the few leading columnists who has turned aside close personal relations with Presidents as a matter of principle. The principle is that a man cannot be a good reporter of an event in which he is an actor. Yet many columnists have had non-journalistic ties with Presidents. Max Freedman wrote speeches for Lyndon Johnson; Joseph Kraft and Joseph Alsop, for John Kennedy. William White is a close friend of President Johnson. Charles Bartlett and his wife brought Jacqueline Bouvier and John Kennedy together and remained intimate friends. Sylvia Porter wrote a draft of President Kennedy's 1963 tax reform speech for television. It was Walter Lippmann who persuaded John Kennedy to change the reference to Russia in his inaugural address from "enemy" to "adversary."

On the right, too, there is deep involvement, less personal and more ideological. William Buckley, Ralph de Toledano, Raymond Moley, Russell Kirk, and John Chamberlain advised on strategy, wrote speeches, or found potential financial contributors for Barry Goldwater.

When a columnist is friendly with a President and is read by him, the columnist's influence is

multiplied beyond the intrinsic power of his words. It also opens other doors for him, even if the President does not hand him the key.

Pierre Salinger, President Kennedy's press secretary, has written of columnists:

"The ranking members of this fraternity were James (Scotty) Reston . . . , Walter Lippmann, Joseph and Stewart Alsop, Marquis Childs, Doris Fleson, William S. White, Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, Joseph Kraft and Drew Pearson.

"Because of their influence throughout the country most of these columnists got special treatment. A request from one of them to see the President personally was usually honored, and White House staff members at the policy level like Ted Sorensen and McGeorge Bundy made sure that they had the administration's views on prevailing problems."

President Eisenhower has written: "There were journalists whose work I read regularly — Arthur Krock, Roscoe Drummond, Larry Burd, Robert Donovan, David Lawrence and two or three, such as Kenneth Crawford and Marquis Childs, who consistently opposed me."

The spectacular reaction to the *Saturday Evening Post* article on the handling of the Cuba missile crisis came mainly from the circumstance that one of its authors, Charles Bartlett, was a close friend of the President. The assumption was that the article must have had the President's approval. Both Bartlett and his co-author, Stewart Alsop, insist this was not so, but the article carried great force because the relationship existed.

Ironically, Bartlett's column during the Kennedy presidency had no scoops out of the White House and made no explicit hints of his presidential friendship. In this, he was unlike William White who, when he writes, "It is known that the President feels . . .," leaves no doubt that his words carry friendly authority. The clientele of Bartlett's column grew during the Kennedy presidency but the column was less interesting and pointed than it became later, probably because he drew a sharp line between his daily writing and his White House social life, a line that newspapermen with more casual relations with Kennedy did not have to draw.

A close personal relationship does not guarantee sympathy in print. Arthur Krock had a long friendship with the Kennedy family. He wrote a crucial column in the 1930's that helped Joseph Kennedy rise in politics. When Joseph Kennedy, as ambassador to St. James's, got into a transatlantic duel with President Roosevelt over intervention in the European war, the White House took anonymous shots at Ambassador

Kennedy through the columns of Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner, then writing partners, and Kennedy replied anonymously through the columns of Arthur Krock. When the ambassador's young son, Jack, wanted to turn his master's thesis into a book, Krock guided him. When Senator John Kennedy made a noticeable speech in 1954 on Indo-China, Krock helped him. But as President John Kennedy periodically unleashed his Navy vocabulary over his reading of Krock. Sorensen reports a Presidential ukase. "He once told me . . . that we should all quit reading columnist Arthur Krock on the grounds that his old friend's attacks were a waste of time." (Sorensen adds: "But at breakfast the next morning he asked me about Krock's latest job.")

Personal friendship apparently does not necessarily guide a President in the columnists he takes most seriously. John Kennedy read most carefully Lippmann, Reston, and Alsop, though only Alsop was close socially. Eisenhower listed as his regular reading Krock, Drummond, and David Lawrence, men who agreed with him, and he personally liked Drummond and Robert Donovan. But other influential White House figures during the Eisenhower years say that the men most influential in policy during those years were Lippmann, Reston, and Childs, as well as Drummond.

Policy in change

After the White House, the most sensitive news nerve in Washington is the Department of State. State deals in a commodity, foreign policy, that is in a constant state of change and offers enough of its evolution in public to permit regular coverage.

The most influential columnist in the State Department is James Reston, partly for the same reasons that he is most influential in the White House. He is the honeybee of Washington journalism, stopping off at the richest sources of ideas, and cross-pollinating the garden of public policy. If Joseph Kraft writes that Secretary Rusk must go, it does not create a sensation. If Reston did, it would be a substantial shock wave, not only because Reston does not write such things lightly, but because he seldom writes about a serious subject without first exploring it with the most substantial authorities, who, though usually unnamed, add weight automatically to anything Reston writes.

Lippmann rates second in influence because of his prestige and the force of his theoretical formulations. Joseph Alsop is influential, though this influence fluctuates widely with the subject matter. Secretary Rusk seldom takes the initiative with Lippmann and Alsop, often with Reston.

But any columnist who comments with relevance on a policy in a state of change can have a significant influence. Both Lippmann and Kraft have been officially discounted as commentators on Viet Nam because their early position was so consistent that it became predictable and officialdom adopted a fixed attitude toward it. But when both Lippmann and Kraft wrote forcefully that the National Liberation Front, political arm of the Viet Cong, should logically be a part of any negotiations to settle the Viet Nam war, the columns had a serious impact. The Department of State had always assumed privately that the NLF or its equivalent would be a party to negotiations, since there is no point to negotiations that do not include the other side. But this was denied publicly, in order to force the other side to make the first move and let entry of the NLF be a late concession by the United States rather than an early one. By putting the idea prestigiously into print, Lippmann and Kraft made it a legitimate subject of debate. Senator Robert F. Kennedy adopted their position. This move forced a response from the administration, which denied any plan to talk with the NLF. But State stopped insisting that it would never speak to the NLF.

Group analysis

One reason the White House and State Department worry about columnists is that foreign missions in Washington read the columns, seeking and finding some hint of the inner thoughts of the American government or the American people. This worry is compounded because the embassies do not always judge the columns well.

In general, the leading embassies read Reston first, but they are inclined to exaggerate how much Reston reflects official views, instead of ideas from outside the government or below its summit. The embassies similarly exaggerated how much Lippmann spoke for officialdom, a notion dissipated since Lippmann departed dramatically from official Viet Nam policy.

A participant in a meeting at a Western European embassy reports that a group discussion of one William S. White column had overtones of psychoanalysis. One group said that since White was an intimate friend of President Johnson he was reflecting better than anyone else the President's ultimate plans. Another group said that because he was such an intimate friend he was being used by the President as a camouflage for ultimate plans. "The question is," said the group leader, "is White saying what the President is thinking, or is he saying what the President wants us to think he is thinking?"

Another reason officialdom worries about columns is that they so often precipitate a reaction in the press corps of Washington. Every correspondent with business at the White House or any other policy-making factory, reads his morning papers as a required start of the day's work. So do the heads of government.

President Johnson's reading is encyclopedic. Like President Kennedy, he periodically casts some paper or columnist into outer darkness, but, like President Kennedy, his night vision remains good; he always seems to know what the banished writer is saying.

In the State Department, briefing officers prepare themselves for correspondents' questions by reading *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Baltimore Sun* and, until recently, the *New York Herald Tribune*. The Secretary of State and his hierarchy read before they reach their offices page one of the *Times* and of the *Post* and the two editorial pages, which means all the major morning columnists.

Most questions from correspondents are stimulated by page one items, but a significant number come from columns. The most common sources over the years have been Lippmann, who went into decline after his polarization on Viet Nam, and Reston, whose advice and analysis is always suspected of being the first hint of official change, or of an imminent policy battle. They are followed by Alsop, Drummond, Childs, and, when they write on national policy, Evans & Novak.

One official says, "About half the time the columnist has presented a minority view that has just lost the fight in a final official conference. I suppose someone in that school feeds the material to a trusted and influential columnist. The columnist either describes this position as one worthy of attention or reports that there has been a division within government on the matter. That day the news correspondents ask us about it. Then we are in a position of being under pressure to defend in public something we decided in private. The trouble is that in private we can cite arguments that we can't in public, not just because of security, but because at this level you have to play the long game and do things that may not be popular but are necessary."

One example was official response to anti-American acts in Zanzibar. Within government, a few people wished to break relations and make a hard public condemnation. Most wanted to remain non-committal in order to regain influence after passions had ebbed. A few columnists called for strong American action and, in anticipation of questioning on the matter, the State Department

made stronger public statements than it would have liked. Somewhat the same pressures existed when Sukarno had set Indonesia on a pro-Chinese, anti-American course. Many columns, especially conservative ones, attacked continued American military aid to Indonesia and demanded complete withdrawal. But the Indonesian military, which was getting the aid, was the major anti-Chinese, anti-Sukarno force, although State and Defense and certainly the White House could not say so publicly. Eventually the Indonesian military overthrew the regime.

Terror on the telephone

In governmental power centers each columnist has his own personal impact. Joseph Alsop is a terror on the telephone. He once caused four White House secretaries to weep in one day, which may be a record. By arrogance, rage, impeccable social and political connections, and persistence he is remarkably successful in extracting confidential information in support of his hypotheses.

Walter Lippmann is a phenomenon unique in contemporary journalism, a public philosopher who writes with authority, clarity, and relevance. His reputation is not the result of infallibility; in 1932 he wrote off Franklin Roosevelt as merely "a pleasant man." Later in the 1930's he was denounced by many of his former liberal friends as an anti-New Deal and even pro-German conservative. Over the years he has often changed his view of men and policies.

At the age of 77 he continues an enormous intake of the latest ideas from the most germinal men of his time who, more often than not, beat a path to his door. When in late 1966 he changed the base of his operations from Washington to New York because he felt the center of creative change in world politics had shifted that way, the fact was solemnly noted in the world press. His appetite for the news, his perceptions on a global scale, and his sensitivity to the contemporaneous quality of newspaper work have prevented the deadly predictability, leaden prose, and nostalgic complaining that afflict other older commentators. He seldom causes sudden turns in policy but his analyses make him the most influential political writer in the English language.

Allen & Scott are most often described by officialdom as without influence or "mischievous" but they score points. This usually happens when they press a consistent campaign that mobilizes conservative opinion in Washington.

David Lawrence, a top columnist in general circulation, seems to have little effect on policy, probably because his positions are doctrinaire,

theoretical, and predictable, and seldom present new information. He typifies the wide gap between columnists who have wide exposure and even popularity, and those who influence events. Lawrence is used as ideological ammunition by conservatives, but he speaks almost entirely to the elderly faithful.

Of all the columnists, Drew Pearson is most often said by high officials to have no effect. Most even deny that they read him. James Hagerty says, "Everyone says they don't read Pearson. Don't believe them. They do." Pearson is almost the first item of business in congressional reading habits. His influence on high policy is slight but in congressional affairs and in the lives of individual politicians it can be crucial. He has sent congressmen to jail, cost them election, and made major exposés of corruption and impropriety. This work is centered mostly on Congress. His effect there stems partly from the fact that his column appears widely in medium-sized and small cities where it reinforces a disreputable stereotype of "those politicians in Washington."

The home offices of members of Congress transmit pertinent Pearson items back to their bosses in Washington, who can read many—but not all—of the same items on the comic page of *The Washington Post* where the Pearson column runs. The *Post* seems to cut about a quarter of all Pearson columns, presumably for reasons of repetition, staleness, or inaccuracy. Pearson names names in the manner of an avenging angel and more than any other columnist stimulates a powerful force by heavy impact both in Washington and in the country at large.

Evans & Novak have a similarly powerful effect on Congress, though their effort is directed more at policy and politics, and less at individuals. They enjoy more respectability within journalism than Pearson and their column is a major source of home office queries to Washington correspondents asking for follow-ups.

Art Buchwald, a political humorist, causes Washington officials to laugh all the way to the blood bank. (His fellow columnists often require transfusions. He once said, "There are only four of us writing humor from Washington these days—Drew Pearson, David Lawrence, Arthur Krock, and myself.") Buchwald is the most subversive columnist in Washington. He writes as he looks—innocent, wide-eyed, a jolly child saying outrageous things so close to the unspeakable and unprovable truth that he shakes a little of the mortar of respectability out of political foundations that later fall under attack by the conventional battering rams.

One official described a high level morning meeting: "We talked about a couple of items in the *Times*, what the cables said, someone asked what Mark Childs was up to and then someone said, 'Did you see Buchwald this morning?' We all started laughing because we all did. Except the boss. His temperature dropped about 50 degrees in a split second. So some genius switched the conversation to something else. The boss had read Buchwald, too."

Buchwald himself says, "What scares me is that instead of writing humor, a lot of times I'm writing history." He says that he can invent a wild project or a crazy dialogue and he gets letters from high officials protesting that the project or the dialogue was supposed to be secret. His connections in Washington are good, if personal, and he touches precise pressure points too often to be completely innocent.

He also has an effect outside Washington. He once wrote that J. Edgar Hoover is not real but a fictional character invented by the *Reader's Digest*. Local editors received many protests and not a few alarmed queries accepting the non-existence of Hoover.

The leading columnists provide daily guidance to the press corps' search for the nerve ends of the news each day. Yet there is a discrepancy between what columns correspondents say they believe in and what they use.

In the spring, 1962, *Review*, William L. Rivers described his poll of 242 Washington correspondents on which columnists they found most reliable and fair. Top man was Lippmann with 42 per cent; others named were Childs, 8 per cent; White, 6 per cent; and Drummond, Reston, and Alsop, 5 per cent each.

Yet men who failed to make the correspondents' honor roll are often high in provoking questions of officialdom. The gap is partly explained by orders from home offices, which also read the leading columnists and may not share the judgment of their Washington correspondents. Also involved is the endemic disapproval many news correspondents have of syndicated columnists. Part of this distaste arises from professional jealousy: columnists generally have more pay and glory than even the most senior correspondents. This disparity becomes harder to swallow because so often editors in the home office praise a columnist's work when the correspondent had the same information but could not use it because it failed to meet the tests of documentation required of most correspondents. Drew Pearson has excellent radar for sensing when correspondents have information they cannot use. One correspondent said, "Once I had

a great pipeline into the Chiefs of Staff and was running some pretty good stories. Drew read them, called me up and said, 'I've got a feeling you have some hot stuff you can't use.' He was right. I had material I couldn't prove but was pretty sure was OK. I fed it to him and he used it."

Another irritant to the conventional press corps is the magic access major columnists have to the great. It is one of the pieties of reporters that they are never handed good stories on a silver platter but instead use shrewd hunch, indomitable digging, and brilliant analysis to extract a story. This happens. But it also happens that a high official calls in a member of the press and hands him a complete story, with documentation, that requires only reprocessing through the writer's typewriter. This happens to top correspondents but it happens more often to columnists, simply because high officials need quick, nationwide, prestigious exposure for their story. The leading columnists have all this plus the journalistic latitude to put the information in the desired context and to keep the source anonymous.

At the conclusion of the grim Vienna conference between Kennedy and Khrushchev in 1961, the Soviets began leaking stories that it was a great success. President Kennedy knew there were grave crises ahead. To counter the euphoric accounts he called in Reston and told him pretty much the full story of the highly secret meetings. Reston's account set the tone for subsequent interpretations.

No summit

After the Cuba missile crisis the Russians were anxious for a Kennedy-Khrushchev conference, but having lied at a high level to Kennedy they knew a formal bid by them that was rebuffed would make things worse. They sent Yuri Zhukov, foreign editor of *Pravda*, to the United States to sound out the most authoritative opinion below the presidential level. Zhukov spoke to Llewellyn Thompson, ambassador to Moscow at that moment back in Washington, and to Reston, who told him the time was not ripe. There was no summit.

While the major impact of columnists is inside Washington, the effect on the general public is neither small nor unrelated to influence in the capital. The generalized effect of columns on serious readers all over the country is to set the tone, the vocabulary, and the values of political discussion, and to a large extent decide which issues are significant. In this, the syndicated column has largely replaced the local editorial, or at

least has pushed the editorial into a second position among journalistic opinion-setters.

Beyond such effects there are columns that appeal to a definable body of opinion and can sometimes energize it to produce results. On June 9, 1964, for example, Allen & Scott said in a column that the State Department had a secret plan to resettle thousands of unscreened Russians from Red China, many of them now Red agents, and for the purpose had deposited \$25,000,000 in State Department funds in a Hong Kong bank. They reported that Representative Michael Feighan's House Judiciary subcommittee and Representative Otto Passman's House Appropriations subcommittee would hold hearings.

The State Department issued a categorical denial. Two years later spokesmen for both the Feighan and Passman committees said the column caused them to take a preliminary look and decide there was no basis in fact for it and no sign of a plan or of the \$25,000,000.

Yet the target of this column, along with many subsequent Allen & Scott productions, was Abba Schwartz, the State Department official who would have been in charge of such an operation had there been one. Two years later Schwartz was squeezed out of his job. Most readers of the 1964 column would have had no way of knowing that the State Department denied the allegations and that both committees decided there was nothing to the story. The column failed to produce a *cause célèbre* or even immediate action in Washington, but precisely for that reason it failed to provoke dramatic rebuttal.

The loser's appeal

Even when the columnist is using material of more substance he is often expressing the special view of the special pleader. He is the loser's appeal to public opinion.

In the Goldwater camp in 1964 there was a bitter split between the ideologues who wanted to propagate ideas and the pragmatists who wanted to win an election. The theoreticians won control and there followed a number of leaks to the press embarrassing to the theoreticians. The pragmatists were shrewd enough to benefit from leaks to liberal columnists where the impact would be greatest. The Goldwater camp was less shrewd when, trying to counter innuendoes that Goldwater was emotionally unstable, it made his medical history available to conservative columnist Holmes Alexander, who undoubtedly gave it his honest interpretation but had the disadvantage of producing a pro-Goldwater judgment in a pro-Goldwater column.

The Goldwater crusaders saw the press as an enemy and decided to fight it. The pragmatists saw this policy as disastrous and were desperate to block an anti-press policy. Not long after the national convention, Evans & Novak printed in their column verbatim portions of a confidential order from John Grenier to the Goldwater staff not to talk to the press on or off the record. It seems safe to assume that the memorandum did not reach the columnists by way of anyone who agreed with it.

Another bitter controversy in the Goldwater staff was over the wisdom of showing the campaign film, "Choice," on television. Eventually the anti-film advisors won, but only after embarrassing publicity. Stephen Shadegg, a Goldwater advisor, has written: "The trouble started when a newspaper columnist, Drew Pearson, attacked the film. Pearson had somehow managed



to gain possession of the confidential stenographic notes made at a story conference in California." Here, again, one can assume that no pro-film campaigner was involved in the transaction.

The same psychological warfare is normal within government, with columnists playing an important role. The Appalachian rebuilding program, considered a happy part of the Area Redevelopment Agency, declared war on its parent on July 16, 1963, with confidential information to Evans & Novak giving information supporting the idea of separating the agencies. The agency won its independence.

Occasionally, the reader is in the ideal position of reading both sides of special pleading. Last March, Joseph Kraft, a liberal against escalation in Viet Nam, and John Chamberlain, a conservative in favor of escalation, both wrote about the same hearings. Representative Clement Zablocki heard witnesses on China policy, in hearings obscured in the news by the more controversial Fulbright hearings. Kraft said not one witness before Zablocki supported the administration view of the war and of China policy. Chamberlain, referring to the same hearings, quoted witnesses supporting the Administration and urg-

ing even more pressure on China. Drew Pearson, a liberal with doubts about escalation, at the same time quoted witnesses at the same hearing as pressing the point that China was no threat to the United States.

The record of the hearings supports all three columnists, except Kraft's statement that *no* witness supported the administration. Each columnist looked at a different part of the hearing.

On March 11, 1966, Kraft and Reston wrote columns giving opposite views of the same thing. Writing about the De Gaulle problem, Kraft suggested American withdrawal from defense of France, which he said was permissible under the NATO treaty, Article V. Reston advised caution and patience and said that under Article V of the NATO treaty the United States was still committed to defend France.

Neither columnist wrote his column out of his own head. Kraft prepared by talking to eleven men, Reston to eight. Of these, three were talked to by both men, and two of them were central figures in the French problem. Reston saw two leading American experts on the NATO treaty, one of whom provided the basic thesis for his column. Kraft did not speak to that man. Reston also talked to high officials of six foreign embassies. Kraft spoke to one foreign embassy, one high American official, seven subcabinet "thinkers" on policy, a friend just back from France, another friend just back from a talk with political scientist Richard Neustadt, and had lunch with a well-known columnist, not Reston.

Reston typically synthesized dominant opinion and took his theme from the man whose opinion on the subject he respected the most. Kraft typically sounded out a less conventional collection of men and pressed his own foreign policy. The result was two columns on the same subject, both of them serious and both based on serious views, but diametrically opposed.

With luck, debate

The public is seldom lucky enough to read such columns together. When columnists become advocates they play a useful role. Where they debate each other this may produce all the benefits of adversary proceedings—argument and counter-argument testing evidence and producing background that might otherwise go unnoted. But too often columnists are advocates speaking in separate courtrooms. Not everyone can buy a paper carrying both Reston and Kraft.

Nevertheless, even without rebuttal, and even without original information, the columnist may have the significant role of inserting a subject into

the public consciousness, after which the reader becomes sensitized to more conventional information on the subject.

On October 22, 1966, Drew Pearson's column said: "This column stirred up a tempest last summer when it reported that, under the Medicare program, the taxpayers' money was going indirectly to buy brand-name drugs that could be purchased by their generic names for a fraction of the brand-name cost."

It was true that on July 28 the Pearson column was devoted to that subject. It is also true that the column was based on and its statistics were identical with a speech by Senator Long of Louisiana on the Senate floor, printed in the July 13 *Congressional Record*, reported the next day by The Associated Press and United Press International, and in AP and UPI Sunday features the next week end. The Pearson column, using the same material, appeared two weeks later.

Yet there is little doubt that, unoriginal as Pearson's column was and two weeks after the major wire services had reported the same thing, he gave it an impact the conventional services could not.

The reader is influenced first by becoming conscious of the subject. This is not always easy. Most people are distracted by other, less abstract things than news items. Everyone, in order to survive in a noisy world has to raise his threshold to screen out most of the random messages trying to engage his attention. Many readers might well have glided untouched over a minor headline on drug prices. But most readers of columns read ritualistically, lowering their threshold for a familiar and easily digested message.

The reader is also influenced by the priority the item takes in his collection of other concerns. By presenting Senator Long's information as a conspiracy against the elderly sick, with the senator (and Pearson) nobly fighting back, Pearson heightens interest that comes with conflict, penetrating the consciousness of the elderly and of their children. It becomes a drama not enacted off to one side of a busy newspaper, but in center stage of a familiar column.

Thus, the influence of the political columnist may be centered in Washington and his impact measurable largely by his mark on national policy. But his influence ultimately rests on the base of his readership, the millions to whom he presents information enhanced not only by his reputation and his style but by the format of a column, printed regularly in the same place, in an attention-fixing frame that can make even stale news look important and fresh.

How to make a newspaper

The case of the Suffolk Sun

By EDWIN DIAMOND

"This kind of stuff is out of the Roaring Twenties."

This plaint, as *The New York Times* told it, came from an unidentified executive on the night the first edition of the *Suffolk Sun* appeared. According to the *Times* account, the *Sun* official was upset because unnamed saboteurs had stolen bundles of the new Long Island daily, had attempted to bribe its delivery boys, and had even infiltrated the paper's mail room and mislabeled and mishandled large quantities of the first press run of 125,000 on November 21.

Did the arrival of the new *Sun* in Suffolk County mean the dawn of a Chicago-style circulation war waged by cross-island rivals *Newsday* and the *Long Island Press*? For a few editions it was a good story — until other reporters checked carefully the dimensions of the reported sabotage. Apparently, opening night jitters had led to confusion in the *Sun*'s circulation department; a few supervisors had lost their cool, workers had bumped into each other, and the few (and normal) handling errors were ballooned out of proportion. By early December the *Sun* was sailing smoothly in its six-day-a-week morning orbit, a clean, full-size paper that was easy on the eyes

and wore, like a dude with a flower in his lapel, a jaunty splash of solar yellow on its logotype.

Yet there were those who would have preferred the *Times*'s inflated account of the paper's debut. The *Suffolk Sun* had been so carefully and efficiently conceived that the slightly disorderly circumstances of its birth came as a great surprise — and somewhat of a solace — to those standing by. For the *Sun*, in truth, is a child of statistical calculation, and fallible men everywhere rejoice a little when the best laid computerized plans glitch.

There were precious few other mistakes. From the time when the *Sun* was a gleam in the eye of Gardner Cowles, its gestation was a model of how a newspaper can be created to give it the maximum Head Start. Equally important, the *Suffolk Sun* is a model of a new, contemporary style of newspaper. The *Sun* was born less from political passion or professional zeal than from a bloodless union of the in-depth market survey and the monied communications corporation. The *Sun*'s beginnings — and the histories of such other new-style children as the Gannett chain's *Today* in Brevard County, Florida, and Field Enterprise's *Day* papers in suburban Chicago — reveal a great deal about the shape of the newspaper business in the next decade.

One striking feature of newspapers today is the cycle of death in the city and birth in the suburbs. On a recent National Educational Television documentary called *The Vanishing Newspaper*, Vincent Manno, a newspaper broker, estimated the death rate among big city papers. Between 1947 and 1962, he reported, a metropolitan area paper either "merged, went into a mutual production plan, or was terminated in publishing" — like the proprietors of Forest Lawn, newspaper brokers prefer euphemisms to blunter terms — on the average of once every three months. In the time since, Manno might have added, he has himself presided at or served as a consultant in some of the biggest mergers, including the 1965 amalgamation in San Francisco.

But once out of the big cities, the vital statistics brighten. Twenty-six-year-old *Newsday*, serving the Long Island dormitory suburbs, now has a circulation of more than 400,000 and more ad lineage than any New York City daily. Field En-

Edwin Diamond is a senior editor at Newsweek, which is another user of the research of Louis Harris, mentioned in this article.

terprises now puts out two suburban Chicago papers — the *Arlington Day*, with a circulation after less than a year of 8,400, and the younger *Prospect Day* (5,600) — and is building a printing plant for the two papers; no one doubts that more *Days* will ring Chicago. There is still more action in the boom counties of California: Norman Chandler's Times-Mirror Company bid against eight national chains to win the San Bernardino *Sun* and *Telegram* (combined circulation: 74,657) in 1964 — and also earn an anti-trust challenge from the Justice Department. The Ridder chain acquired the San Jose morning *Mercury* and evening *News* — Manno engineered that deal, too — and watched the *News* soar to third among evening papers in advertising lineage.

The biggest gold rush has been to Florida, especially to the lush Cape Kennedy area. In 1950, Brevard County was a sleepy Florida backwater with a population of 23,000; the main occupations of its citizens were orange growing and sports

fishing. A considerable part of the community was made up of older retired teachers and pensioners from northern states. Then the space age landed in Brevard. Thanks to the jobs created and the megabucks spent by NASA and the U.S. Air Force, Brevard's population grew to 165,000 by 1963. When the Gannett Newspaper group hired Louis Harris, the public opinion analyst and surveyor, to make a study of Brevard for them a year ago, the population was more than 200,000, and still growing.

Harris found the area ready for a new paper. Gannett's *Today*, the new full-sized paper aimed at the young, mobile, technically trained audience, began publishing in March, 1966. It now claims a circulation of 38,000 and prints editions of up to 80 pages. *Today* is currently involved in a slugging match with the Orlando, Florida, *Sentinel* and *Star*, purchased in 1965 by another northern interloper, the Chicago Tribune Company. The *Sentinel* and *Star* print Brevard County editions in Orlando and ship them 50 miles east to Cocoa Beach, Eau Gallie, Titusville, and the other coastal towns where the Cape Kennedy workers have their pads. *Today's* circulation and advertising pitch, made by its young and aggressive president, Allen H. Neuharth, has been to accuse the Orlando paper of treating Brevard as a "stepchild." In reply, Martin Anderson, until December, 1966, the *Sentinel* and *Star* editor and publisher (and former owner), accused the Gannetts of being "carpetbaggers."

It is a charge that Gardner Cowles, the 63-year-old chairman of Cowles Communications, Inc., heard on Long Island when he started the *Suffolk Sun*. Cowles's development of the *Sun*, in fact, reads in many respects like a playback of the *Today* experience. He sought out fast-growing virgin land, he relied on a Louis Harris field survey, he took on (right down to the name-calling) an established paper, and he is even producing the same kind of paper as did Gannett.

Cowles became interested in new newspaper markets approaching the take-off stage about a decade ago when he bought a newspaper in Fort Pierce, Florida. Eventually his corporation acquired the Gainesville *Sun* and the *Lakeland Ledger*, both in Florida, and in 1960 Cowles and



Marvin Whatmore, his chief aide and the president of CCI, started the *San Juan Star* in Puerto Rico. It is now a financial success.

Fresh from this happy experience, CCI was looking for other territories to explore. Cowles was not ready, however, to bring CCI into the perilous New York City market. For the last fifteen years, Cowles says, he has watched in dismay the "growing problems of metro papers" — distribution difficulties, population shifts, shrinking markets, competition from radio and television, union-management antipathies, among other ills. Instead he commissioned his own research staff and the Louis Harris organization to survey Suffolk County at the eastern end of Long Island, an area actually more exurbia than suburbia. It took no great sophistication in methodology to find out that Suffolk was the fastest growing county in the country, that the population was increasing at a rate of 50,000 a year and that by the end of 1966 it would hit the 1,000,000 mark. But the surveys did much more than that; they told Cowles not only how many Suffolkians there were but what kind of people they were — economically, ethnically, politically, culturally. Most important of all to CCI, the surveys determined their present reading habits and what kind of paper they wanted, or more precisely, what kind of paper would be likely to succeed.

A Louis Harris newspaper survey is confidential and not available for circulation to anyone outside the executive levels of the company that commissions it. Thus, the specific content of the survey for Cowles's *Sun* is not publicly available. But it certainly contains these elements:

1. Detailed interviews. Harris's basic research tool is an interview lasting from sixty to ninety minutes. Many questions are open-ended ("What particularly do you like about news on television, radio, or in newspapers?"). Others are quantified questions involving choice answers and like-or-dislike ratings ("Rate which of these features or columnists you like best...").

2. Scientific sampling. As developer of the CBS Vote Profile Analysis (VPA) technique for projecting a few key election returns into a prediction, Harris knows how to construct a microcosm of a community — what is called a stratified prob-

ability cross section. Practically speaking, the sample has to be large enough and yet not so large as to mean excessive expense.

3. Analysis. Harris newspaper surveys give the usual demographic data. They find out also not only what people read, but how long they read and at what time of day they read. And they determine where (television, radio, newspaper, magazine) an audience learns about a product, where it is bought, and what the optimum advertising market for a paper might be.

4. Penetration. This is a key word in a Harris report. How much does *Newsday* penetrate Suffolk County (translation: how many copies are sold)? The amount of penetration *they* make determines how much penetration *you* have to sell an advertiser. But enemy penetration not only tells you how much, but also can tell you where and when to penetrate.

5. Recommendation. Finally, a Harris newspaper survey does not shrink from making a recommendation. The sum of the ratings and preferences may add up to a consistent picture. Cowles says he asked Harris to find out: (1) Does Suffolk want a paper, and (2) if so, what kind of paper? "Harris's findings plus our own marketing investigation encouraged us," Cowles says.

Cortland Anderson, the *Sun's* 31-year-old editor, was more specific about the Harris results in a recent interview with Lee Smith of *Newsweek*: "Suffolk County people are real homelovers, TV watchers, and church-goers," Anderson said. One in three adults in the county, the survey showed, owned stocks, the average household income was \$9,988 a year; 58 per cent of the population was Roman Catholic; the Negro population was small. More: the biggest problems are the lack of good public transportation; conservation and rapacious land developers are also issues. And more: Suffolkians spend more time following the pro football Giants and Jets than they do the society page jet-setters and go-go crowd. They like to shop in centers where there is a Macy's or a Gertz or an Abraham & Straus store.

These findings enabled Cowles to construct a paper designed to appeal to the home-loving, television-watching, church-going audience. Cowles also decided to make the paper as different from

Newsday as possible. This meant a full-size morning paper, with both feature color and spot color on its news pages. It also meant a paper that would penetrate immediately. For the first thirty days of publication, 100,000 copies of the paper were distributed free to households in "prime areas," that is, the areas where the big stores have most customers.

The surveys also indicated much of the shape of the *Sun* and what its editorial scope might be. Television listings take a full page; the sports coverage is extensive and there is a big financial section with complete and final New York and American Stock Exchange listings. The columnists represent a smoothly programmed spectrum from Barry Goldwater on the right through the cool center of Howard K. Smith and Doris Fleenon to . . . what? It seems that not all the requirements of the mix could be met. "We're having a difficult time finding a left wing columnist," Andersen confessed before publication. "The New York City papers have bought them all up." He added: "We want balance."

Unfortunately, a paper requires more than balance — and more than white space and uncluttered type and good color registry and complete stock tables and heads-up circulation promotion. Newspapers must also have editors with sharp news judgment, reporters who know how to report, and writers who can express themselves with freshness and clarity. Harris recognizes this: "Our work is simply a picture of the public's newspaper needs in a given area," he says. "In this sense, we are a transmission belt from the public to an editor or publisher. Obviously, information can be no substitute for inspiration, hard facts for editorial imagination. Our findings must be taken as a beginning for an editor and his staff rather than the end result."

The first month of the *Suffolk Sun* disappoints on almost all these counts. For example, on Wednesday, December 14, 1966 — a slow news day — the *Sun* could not find room for more than a seven-line short on sensational testimony from the Dr. Carl Coppolino murder trial. Not that more intellectual fare crowded out the column; a key speech by West German Chancellor Kurt Kiesinger rated only two paragraphs and not one line

of interpretation. Yet in the same paper there was room for a big spread on the continuing serialization of John G. Fuller's flying saucer potboiler, *Interrupted Journey*.

Perhaps these shortcomings will disappear with time. Certainly the *Suffolk Sun* has been carefully programmed to be a good-looking popular paper with great sales appeal. But whether it will be a good newspaper remains to be seen. No one has yet designed a computer program to replace the hearts, hands, and heads of talented individuals.

Less spectacular than *The Sunday Ramparts* (noted in the fall, 1966, issue) is another new paper in the San Francisco Bay area, *The Bay Guardian* (fortnightly), which has the compensating virtues of voluminous reporting on local politics and culture. Its editor and publisher is Bruce B. Brugmann, formerly a reporter with a small daily in the area. Above: the issue of January 20, 1967

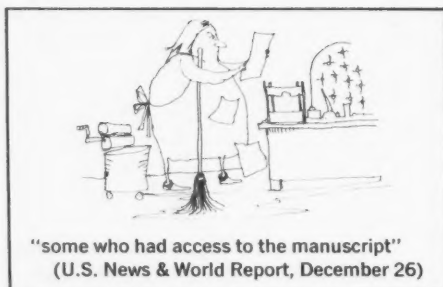
"Sources say..."

The struggle over publication of William Manchester's book, *The Death of a President*, produced a host of informants who were willing to retail raw material but not their own names. Journalists, in turn, resorted to the most exotic circumlocutions in memory to describe these sources with no names. The reader, for his part, had no real assurance that the sources were any better than those fancied in the drawings here by Julio Fernandez. Below is a partial list:

"one person who has read the manuscript"
(Chicago Daily News, December 10, 1966)

"source close to the Kennedy family"
(The New York Times, December 11)

"Kennedy intimates"
(New York Post, December 14)

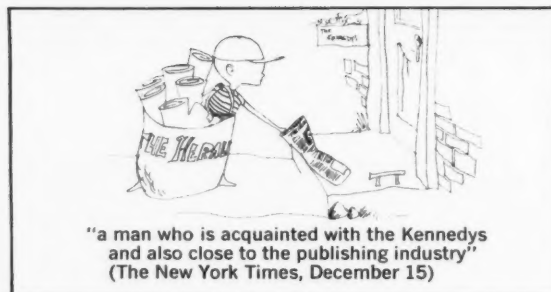
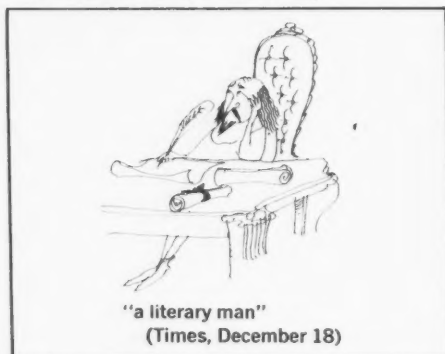


"a lawyer connected with the case"
(World Journal Tribune, December 15)

"one source"
(The New York Times, December 16)

"legal sources in the publishing industry"
(Times, December 16)

"a source closely involved in the battle"
(Associated Press, December 16)



"two men in the publishing business who read the manuscript"
(The New York Times, December 18)

"another author, whose reputation rivals [Theodore] White's"
(Newsweek, December 26)

"one dopester"
(Newsweek, December 26)

"many who have read the book — and many who have not"
(Newsweek, December 26)

"previewers"
(Newsweek, December 26)

"sources"
(Newsweek, December 26)

"one reader of the late versions"
(Newsweek, December 26)

"insiders"
(Newsweek, December 26)

"a man who now has the 1,300-page manuscript"
(The New York Times, December 19)



"informants"
(The Washington Post, December 22)

"sources on both sides"
(Times, December 19)

"one journalist"
(New York Post, December 19)

"a source close to the participants in the suit"
(The New York Times, December 20)

"a source close to the situation"
(The Washington Post, December 21)

"most persons close to the argument"
(The New York Times, December 22)

The newspaper-television debate: why it is not telling us much

By DOUGLAS A. FUCHS

The readers of communication's trade journals have been besieged in recent years with competitive proclamations from trade association offices on the subject of television vs. newspapers. The topics of this debate (or, perhaps, series of polemic soliloquies) include "media credibility," "media reliability," "the media as news sources," "attitudes toward advertising."

We have seen questions posed and answered, not coincidentally, by the agency that posed them: "Which would you be most likely to believe if you heard conflicting stories on some subject on television and in the newspaper . . .?" "Where do you get most of your news about what's going on in the world today . . .?"

The debate can be viewed in Newtonian terms: It seems that for every release from the Television Information Office we receive an equal and opposite set of "empirical proofs" from a newspaper spokesman. When Roy Danish (director of TIO) fires a missile at the *Editor & Publisher* mailbox, no great time elapses before *E&P's* rebuttal type slugs start to hit the stone.

It is now long past high time to ask questions about this "research." For example: Whom should you believe? The not-so-facetious answer is that you believe who ever is offering you "facts" to substantiate what you "knew" already.

Douglas A. Fuchs, an assistant professor at the University of California, summarized research on television effects on voters in the fall, 1965, issue.

Things are not really all that bleak, though. Many studies are probably reliable if not always valid in conception. Not only are there the Roper, Nielsen, Belden, and Gallup polls, but there are also recent efforts by academics on the same general subjects. An example of the latter is a study by Richard F. Carter and Bradley Greenberg; it attempted to clear up some of the "confusion" that had arisen from a Roper study. (See "Newspapers or Television, Which Do You Believe?" *Journalism Quarterly*, winter, 1965.)

Roper had asked: "Where do you get most of your news about what's going on in the world today? From the newspapers, or radio, or television, or magazines, or talking to people, or where?"

Carter and Greenberg surmised that there was some possible bias inherent in this form of questioning and proceeded to ask half of their sample: "From which *one* of the following sources do you get most of your news about what's going on in the world today — from the newspaper, radio, television, magazines, talking to people, or where?" The other half of their sample was asked the Roper question. This part of the research showed that Roper's version, which had allowed multiple responses, seemed to bias the responses in favor of television. When Carter and Greenberg asked their question in the form that allowed only one response, newspapers took the lead: 44 per cent to 32 per cent for television.

There have been other academic efforts at assessing the relative effects of the media, the relative reliability of the media, and the relative this or the relative that of the media. Nevertheless,

RESEARCH

it seems to be a reasonable conclusion at this point that the whole picture of the inter-media struggle yields little clarity.

The following discussion may clear off some of the underbrush. What we will do is to step back a little from the immediacies and the methodological intricacies. We shall try here to look at a few of the more basic questions that we think should be considered in comparing newspapers and television.

The sources of news

First major question: "Who gets news where?"

Editor & Publisher of August 28, 1965, reported on a Gallup Poll in these terms: "Latest of three surveys made public this week showed that 71% read a newspaper yesterday, as compared to 58% that listened to news on radio or 55% that looked at news on television." The story points out that the trends established over the eight years in which the Gallup research was conducted showed that television is indeed apparently improving its relative position. But as the headline with that article indicates ("Gallup Poll Shows Papers Still Tops in News") television has yet to balance the scales.

The article suggests a basic observation: It would seem that listening to television or radio news can be entirely accidental and still count as listening. Consider radio for the moment. Radio listening is supposed to be very high among teenagers. The folklore would have us believe that these teenagers focus their radio attention almost exclusively on rock-'n'-roll stations. Almost all these stations have at least one minute, and some have five minutes, of news an hour. This may be only headlines from the wires but it counts as news, nevertheless. A researcher asking teenagers, "Did you listen to any radio news yesterday?" would necessarily receive a "yes" response. The same situation applies to housewives. They, too, listen to the radio frequently during the day, according to the broadcast industry.

The basic question becomes: Is "accidental" tuning in on news really at all related to the question that all these pieces of research seem to be aimed at? On which medium is the news most sought out? This remains to be answered, so far as this writer is concerned.

We must consider the validity of the newspaper findings, too. The Gallup Poll mentioned above showed that 71 per cent "read a newspaper yesterday," as compared with various lesser percentages attending to broadcast news. Is having read a newspaper "yesterday," equivalent to having read news in a newspaper yesterday? Is it equivalent to having *purposely* sought out news in a newspaper yesterday? Clearly, there are numbers of persons who seek out the newspaper for purposes having nothing to do with the seeking of "hard news." This non-news function of a newspaper is acknowledged, but does it mean much in defining who *seeks* the news, and where? The whole question needs to be more carefully thought out.

Exposure — Is there a real answer?

Second major question: What kinds of bias are there in the reports of media habits? All the studies that we have at hand are based on *reports* of reader/viewer behavior — not on observation. An exception is Nielsen's figures on television set use — and these are subject to some question.

All the studies relating the two media are subject to an extreme attenuating influence — that is, the bias in people's responses to questions about the media these days. The bias has been hinted at but not described comprehensively. We know that reading itself is prestigious in most strata of our society. We know that among intellectuals, television has always been "out." Dero-gation of television has been one of the favorite parlor games in middle and upper class America. Yet Nielsen's figures, as quoted by the TIO, show us that these upper middle and upper class homes have television sets tuned in every bit as much — and "as much" means something like six hours a day — as middle and lower income homes. Perhaps the economic and intellectual upper classes are just not wont to admit that they are viewing as much as they are.

The Harris Survey

TV Viewing on Wane Among Affluent, Elderly

By Louis Harris

© 1967

Washington Post

FOR RELEASE JANUARY 9, 1967

TELEVISION ATTRACTING MORE BETTER-EDUCATED,
HIGHER INCOME VIEWERS, TIO DIRECTOR REPORTS

No truce: A Harris poll shows decline in elite viewing; Television Information Office release shows contrary

Or it may be that the figures can be subjected to such alternative explanations as this: Perhaps in these upper-income homes, as in poorer homes, the kids are watching — by themselves — for some major part of the daily television time. The question that remains for Nielsen to answer is: "Whose viewing is being measured?" It is obvious, and it has been for some time, that all the answers to all the questions about the print versus the electronic media — especially television and newspapers — have to be tempered by considering the bias that goes into the reports.

Other than the Nielsen recording device, we can think of no other way to observe behavior directly than to station spies in the households whose behavior we are trying to determine. This, incidentally, has been done, on an experimental basis, and the findings reported in an unpublished study by a J. Walter Thompson agency research man. Findings were revealing and seemed valid, but possibly because of the ethical implications of the method, nothing has apparently been published since that time, six years ago.

Teaspoons or tablespoons?

Third question: Many of these pieces of research measure "yesterday's" media behavior. To start, it is silly to imagine there is no methodological difficulty in measuring any kind of *yesterday's* behavior. But the critical questions are:

How much news did they hear yesterday? How much news did they read yesterday? How much news did they see yesterday? Is a thirty-minute network television newscast, which perhaps contains twenty-five minutes of news, equivalent in some way to twenty-five minutes of exposure to the newspaper? Certainly not, because listening and reading speeds are probably dissimilar. What then is the formula for what we could call "media attention equivalence?"

Learning is one of the criteria by which we judge effectiveness of communication. Perhaps a test of news awareness could show how much television news is equivalent to how much newspaper news. Here we get into one of the basic physical comparisons between the two media. Television is a "bi-modal" medium — sight and sound; the newspaper is strictly a sight medium. How much does the form of each of these media — the temporal and physical form — bear on the effectiveness of the media in communicating news? This question may bear on all the studies of reliability, credibility, and preference.

If an "index of media equivalency" were contrived, it would be possible to answer one very large question. That is, how much news information is there in an "average day's" television or newspaper? It is our speculation that the television would not be so universally damned if the ratio of "hard news" to advertising, entertainment, and other feature materials were calculated for both media.

Apples and oranges revisited

Fourth question: In studies of role and functions of a news source, it would seem that there is a consideration of a physical sort that demands attention. Specifically, this relates to television's potential for delivering news instantaneously.

One empirical finding on this problem was made by Greenberg, and it is reported in the book he edited with Parker, *The Kennedy Assassination and the American Public* (Stanford, 1965). Greenberg says that 100 per cent of those asked early in December, 1963, how they had found out about the President's murder answered that they had found out either directly from a broadcast of the events or indirectly from someone who

had himself probably heard the broadcast. The newspapers did not figure in anybody's initial exposure to the news in the sample of 419 persons.

When we look at a headline, as in *Broadcasting* of August 2, 1965, which states, "TV MAJOR SOURCE FOR LBJ SPEECH," we have to ask the question, "What other possible source could be the major one?" With the exception of those persons who deliberately waited to read about this noon speech in their evening or following-morning newspapers, there could barely have been the possibility of any other medium's being first.

We are told that such speeches as this one of the President's are often delivered at a time specifically designed to "give the afternoon newspapers a break," or "to make the exposure potential equivalent for television and newspapers." There is no doubt that this can occur with planned events, but with fast-breaking, unexpected news stories, the newspapers can hardly be the first source. What is needed, perhaps, in comparing the news effects of television and newspapers, is a fuller, up-to-date consideration of what different news functions they are actually serving as a result of time and production characteristics.

While we have by no means covered all of the questions that could be asked in this inter-media debate, let us pass on to still a different kind of question. What does this newspaper versus television fight do to the media themselves?

Again, it is most definitely "in" to rap the knuckles of television, citing specifically instances of allegedly bad programming. But this writer's fellow residents of the San Francisco Bay Area have to conclude that the newspapers are but little more elevated, if at all. The question arises: Does the inter-media fight to lure advertising dollars engender an emphasis on sensationalism of no good to anybody except the accounting and advertising departments? If television is accused of pandering to or even stimulating lowbrow tastes, it is equally often excused as the effect of the network fight for rating (and dollar) supremacy.

One wonders why newspapers in a now non-competitive city — San Francisco — resort to such depressingly typical front page fare as in their constant banner stories on rape, society divorces, LSD, and murder. Is this a residue from the days of

intra-medium competition? Or does television stimulate this newspaper reliance on the sensational? Is it fighting fire by pouring on gasoline? Is the flat statement, "It sells newspapers," sufficient?

If people show a propensity to consume sensationalism on television, it seems consistent to expect that they will want to consume the same in

Editorial notebook

Newspapers as time-fillers

New York's new merged daily, the *World Journal Tribune*, has been promoting circulation with the slogan "The Newspaper You Can Spend an Evening With."

That slogan, we submit, is one of the most dubious arguments yet developed for a newspaper. It implies somehow that the newspaper's real role is that of a time-filler.

A reasonably rapid reader can, indeed, spend an evening with the *WJT* if he devours the output of two dozen columnists, good and bad, a column of teen-age chat, generous helpings of Broadway gossip, and miscellaneous dissertations on such subjects as "Washing Synthetic Drapes".

What a dismal proceeding, however, in an era when the thoughtful American's greatest shortage is that of time! He needs time to read books, to hear a stimulating concert, even to view that rare television program of quality; time to think and discuss, and time to find ways to absorb the mounting glut of *important* information.

Society, we think, is moving into an era when the best and most responsible news publications will seek ways to *save* the citizen's time. They can do so by heading stories clearly enough so that the reader knows whether he wants to read it all, by providing concise summaries for those who want only the outlines of certain developments,

their newspapers. The fact is that at least in this metropolitan area they do. They are forced to, and no doubt to the ultimate detriment of both television and newspapers.

In sum, I have tried to say this: Overall, there is but little warranted criticism of the methods used today by commercial media researchers. They are

doing well what they undertake. In many cases, though, they are not doing the things that need doing; too much effort is being directed at making selling tools out of research reports, and too often this seems to mean using the efforts of news departments as a selling tool. A new, broader, more basic research focus is called for.

plus full accounts for those who need to dig deeper.

The example of the *Wall Street Journal* seems pertinent. It is appealing to audiences beyond the financial specialists in part because of its skillful and balanced one-column summary of the news on page 1. Its headlines also intelligently summarize its stories. In twenty years the *Journal* has gone from 82,000 circulation to more than 1,000,000 and is now America's second paper in total circulation and, with four regional editions, its first really national newspaper. More than one non-financial traveler has been heard to say: "When I'm in San Francisco I buy the *Wall Street Journal* just to be sure I know what's going on."

Public television: now or never?

President Johnson's request to Congress for creation of a Corporation for Public Television was, in effect, a tribute to the pioneering proposals of both the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television. In his message the President said: "One of the corporation's first tasks should be to study the practicality and the economic advantages of using communication satellites to establish an educational television and radio network." That statement lent new support to the proposal that a Columbia Journalism School colleague, Fred W. Friendly, developed in cooperation with the president of the Ford Foundation.

In Professor Friendly's new book, *Due to Circumstances Beyond Our Control . . .*, appears this highly quotable argument for the concept:

"In the year 1966, when satellites promise to change television as much as television altered radio, when the education boom is about to do

for our economy what the industrial revolution did for the nineteenth century and what the automobile did for the first half of the twentieth century, the challenge to reorder our television circuits and to establish a Magna Carta of broadcasting is an opportunity that must be exercised now, or perhaps never."

Greeting from Harper's

This page is the one section of the *Review* over which the editor, James Boylan, does not exercise control. Accordingly, overruling his modesty, I reprint below excerpts from the December column of John Fischer, editor of *Harper's*, in which he offered "a special holiday greeting" to a number of individuals:

To James Boylan, editor, and his associates in publishing the Columbia Journalism Review, for a small but significant step toward making journalism a real profession.

The key characteristic of a genuine profession is its ability to discipline its members for malpractice. . . . In journalism this has never been so. . . . The only feasible punishment . . . would seem to be public condemnation of journalistic malpractice by the "profession" itself. . . .

For the past five years, however, the *Columbia Journalism Review* has been gradually developing a program of systematic scrutiny, not only of the press but of broadcasting as well. In its issues for 1966, its criticism has reached a high level — severe but never shrill, carefully researched, broad in range, and well-balanced in praise and blame. There is a little evidence that it is beginning to have some effect: I know a few editors and reporters who have winced under its paddle, and even a couple of publishers who read every issue with a certain nervous eagerness.

EDWARD W. BARRETT

BOOKS

The emerging Pulitzer

PULITZER'S POST-DISPATCH, 1878-1883. By Julian S. Rammelkamp. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey. \$7.50.

JOSEPH PULITZER AND THE NEW YORK WORLD. By George Juergens. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey. \$10.

Joseph Pulitzer still stands safely atop his pedestal, erected by biographer Don Seitz, journalism historians, and his peers. These two studies of the early Pulitzer add supporting detail to the familiar story, and they testify firmly to Pulitzer's success in revolutionizing American journalism and to his crusading spirit.

Most of what has been written about Pulitzer has been based on the Seitz biography of 1924. Appearance of two scholarly analyses of his newspapers, coupled with Homer W. King's 1965 biography of John A. Cockerill (*Pulitzer's Prize Editor*), gives us fresh material and a closer look at the elements of Pulitzer's success. Neither Julian S. Rammelkamp nor George Juergens attempted a biography; that needed new volume awaits writing.

Rammelkamp's Missouri Pulitzer is of less than heroic proportions: "pre-eminently a businessman who happened to be in the business of journalism," a man turned by events from personal political ambitions to a solidly constructive journalistic achievement which made his *Post-Dispatch* "spokesman for middle class reformism in St. Louis."

Juergens' New York Pulitzer is indeed heroic: a master publisher-editor — "scholarly and judicious by temperament" but able to identify with the thoughts of the common run of men and women in New York and to become a popular journalist — whose innovative and adaptive skills made his *World* "the first modern newspaper" between 1883 and 1885. (Juergens restricted his study to the first two years of Pulitzer's editorship of the *World* and for clarity's sake the book title should have carried that qualification.)

Neither book is light reading. Both are freighted with extensive quotations from the newspaper pages their authors turned. The authors are both history

professors, Rammelkamp at Albion College, Juergens at Amherst. Rammelkamp undertook his research at Harvard, working with both Schlesingers; Juergens wrote his book as a doctoral dissertation supervised by Richard Hofstadter of Columbia.

Of the two, Rammelkamp deals more extensively with details drawn from correspondence files and documents; Juergens offers a broader socio-cultural setting for his findings. Rammelkamp writes in a factual and cautious style, compared with Juergens' more flowing prose and tendency toward argumentative interpretation.

Enough headlines and stories of a sensational nature are quoted in both books to give them human flavor, and to give skeptics fresh support for their assertions that Pulitzer's use of sensationalism made his journalism less-than-great. Rammelkamp observes that Pulitzer learned in St. Louis that "purveying local scandals, promoting local causes, and supplying his city readers with gossip and entertainment which in small towns was retailed across the back fence were the high road to success." Juergens concludes his chapter of New York examples by saying:

Sensational journalism as practiced by Pulitzer, if not the fare for cultivated and mature minds, served an important function in introducing thousands of men to the daily newspaper habit. It demanded a skill as impressive as any within the profession, and while offering color and excitement, was also careful to honor the mores of the times.

This waiver included such *World* tid-bits as "SCREAMING FOR MERCY. HOW THE CRAVEN CORNETTI MOUNTED THE SCAFFOLD" and "PIERCED HIS WIFE'S EYES... JOHN M. CARRAN BLINDS A HELPLESS WOMAN WITH A SHOEMAKER'S AWL." And such speculative headlines as "WHICH ONE DOES HE LOVE?" and "DID HE MURDER HIS WIFE?"

Other key elements in Pulitzer's popular journalism to which Juergens gives chapter treatment were improved typography and makeup, particularly through improved use of illustrations; sports news, written by a separate staff; and news for women.

News and editorial columns of the *World* appealed to the New York mass audience by attacking

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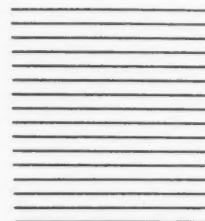
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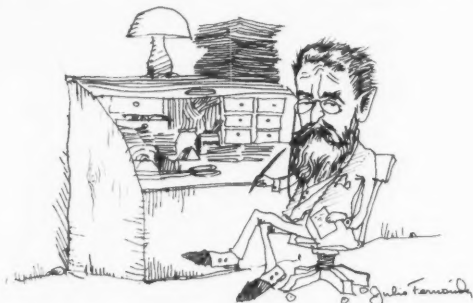
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the wealthy, but satisfying curiosity about who the rich were (with drawings) and how they lived; and, most importantly, by combatively espousing the causes and reporting the problems of the immigrant, the poor, and the laboring class. Pulitzer's empathy with his readers was maintained, Juergens says, even when his convictions kept him from embracing their jingoism or anti-intellectualism, because he understood their feelings and avoided insulting them.

Rammelkamp paints a picture of the *Post-Dispatch* as an equally effective crusader during 1881-83 in aiding urban reform, speaking for Pulitzer's St. Louis middle class audience. But he dubs Pulitzer's voice in national and state affairs then "an



uncertain trumpet," because while he fought monopolistic and greedy business he had the libertarian's fear of government and distrusted the agrarian reformers of the midwest.

One correction in the record is made by Rammelkamp, who offers evidence that Pulitzer negotiated for months to buy the *World* and did not pick it up on the spur of the moment, as Seitz had it. Managing editor Cockerill gets substantial treatment from Rammelkamp, but his influence on the *World* is only casually noted by Juergens (who does not list King's biography in his bibliography).

Both studies look forward to the mature Pulitzer and his more intellectually sophisticated *World* of the early twentieth century. It was this ability to respond to drifts of social change and to the requirements of his audience which made Pulitzer the master journalist he was.

EDWIN EMERY

Edwin Emery, a historian of journalism, is a professor of journalism at the University of Minnesota and the editor of Journalism Quarterly, published by the Association for Education in Journalism.

Up from puffery

COURTIERS TO THE CROWD: The Story of Ivy Lee and the Development of Public Relations. By Ray Eldon Hiebert. Iowa State University Press, Ames, Iowa. \$6.95

In this biography, Ray Eldon Hiebert, professor of journalism and public relations at American University, describes the career and philosophy of Ivy Lee, one of the Founding Fathers of the modern public relations business. Lee entered the field when a press agent was a man who placed puffs for circuses, roadshows, and politicians in the newspapers. He left it a big business which presumed to shape the basic thoughts and opinions of millions.

In contributing to this transformation, Hiebert explains, Lee was governed by a series of assumptions: Individual liberty, capitalism, and democracy are good things, all conducive to human happiness and progress. Businessmen have public responsibilities; they must consider these and frame their behavior accordingly if they are to succeed. The best way for businessmen to deal with the public is by presenting their point of view openly and forcefully. Implicit in this last (and central to Lee's philosophy of public relations) are the typically American assumptions that there are no fundamental and irreconcilable conflicts between classes or interest groups, that the pie is big enough for all to share, and that man is a reasonable being, open to argument, and influenced by the honesty and good intentions of any antagonist because he is himself at heart honest and well-intentioned.

The soundness of these assumptions need not detain us; Lee certainly succeeded in selling them to a staggeringly large number of important men — the Rockefellers, Alexander J. Cassatt of the Pennsylvania Railroad, George Washington Hill of the American Tobacco Company, Charles M. Schwab of Bethlehem Steel, and a galaxy of movie moguls, automobile manufacturers, utility magnates, bankers, and businessmen, along with a variety of politicians, philanthropists, and religious leaders. Whatever one's opinion of Lee's methods, his customers, or the merits of this book, the man himself emerges from these pages as one of the most influential figures of the early twentieth century. In the name of public relations he induced big corporations to alter their labor policies and spend large sums on institutional advertising. He even persuaded John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to stop contributing money to

BOOKS

the Anti-Saloon League and to reduce the "gorgeousness" and "regality" of his daughter's wedding.

The story, however, is complicated. Lee's world rested on the supposed good will of those who sought to influence "the public." Hiebert insists that Lee was an honest man — and, as men go, it appears that he was one. But during the Colorado mining strike of 1914, he defended the Rockefellers in a series of bulletins which Hiebert admits "presented the facts in such a way as to give a total picture that was false." The reason, we discover, was that he had received "biased and exaggerated" reports from agents on the scene. When, during the thirties, he took on the I. G. Farben Company as a client, he suggested that his employers urge upon the Nazi government a policy of "complete frankness and openness." Eventually, when he discovered that the Nazis were not inclined to follow this advice, he broke off with I. G. Farben, for he was no fascist. In the meantime, however, he advised the Germans to tell the American people that the storm troops were "not armed, not prepared for war, and organized only for the purpose of preventing for all time the return of the communist peril."

Hiebert has been so impressed by the novelty of Lee's techniques and his enormous success, and has himself been so captivated by the public-relations mystique that he fails to come to grips with the moral questions involved in the business or with the fact that his hero, after all, was essentially a lackey. He advances the startling and to me alarming thesis that the public relations business is a bulwark of democracy in our modern "pluralistic" world. "Of course," he states flatly, "without public relations, democracy could not succeed in a mass society." *Of course?*

That Lee believed this is understandable; that his biographer believes it is an indication of the extent to which he has absorbed his subject's values and viewpoints. Hiebert is a poor historian. His handling of background material is amateurish and based, repeatedly, upon the sketchiest research. His historical judgments are naive, when not plainly wrong. He is capable of writing such sentences as: "Lee worked with the leaders of the world in combatting the depression," and "Lee believed in intelligent, sincere,

responsible government." In short, he has produced a public relations man's biography of Ivy Lee, which is, I suppose, what Lee, if not the public, deserves.

JOHN A. GARRATY

John A. Garraty, professor of history at Columbia, has written biographies of Ivy Lee's contemporaries, Henry Cabot Lodge and George W. Perkins.

The style machine

TOUGH, SWEET & STUFFY. An essay on modern American prose styles. By Walker Gibson. Indiana University Press, Bloomington & London. \$4.50.

In this engaging and exasperating little book, Walker Gibson, a professor of English at New York University and a widely published poet, has categorized contemporary American prose styles in terms of the writer's tone of voice toward the reader. Their extremes, by his criterion, are expressed by the Tough Talker, the Sweet Talker, and the Stuffy Talker; "the way we write at any given moment can be seen as an adjustment or compromise among these three styles of identifying ourselves and defining our relation with others."

We have here the makings of a small system, and some definitions are in order. The Tough Talker speaks with the voice of "the hard man who has been around," he is "centrally concerned with himself — his style is *I-talk*." He takes his reader, and what his reader can be assumed to know, for granted; his manner tends to be arrogant and matter-of-fact. He may be a Hemingway hero (Mr. Gibson uses the opening paragraphs of *A Farewell to Arms* as a prime example), Winston Churchill, or the omniscient author of *Time* magazine. The Sweet Talker "goes out of his way to be nice to us — his style is *you-talk*." He is intimate, ingratiating, often cajoling. His prototypical voice is that of the advertising copywriter, who furnishes the book's basic models; other examples cited include an article in *Glamour*, emergency escape instructions issued by an airline to its passengers, and a piece by Tom Wolfe. (The author, incidentally, is himself a flagrant Sweet Talker.) The Stuffy Talker "expresses no concern either for himself or his reader — his

style is *it-talk*." His voice is impersonal, bloodless, remote; he "speaks for an organization rather than for an individual." Most of the examples offered in this genre are from government and academe.

So far, so good, and so what? Well, Mr. Gibson has analyzed a few samples of what he has judged to be extreme cases of these three modes, and has discovered some interesting correlations of word usage and sentence construction. The Tough Talker, for instance, customarily uses a very high percentage of one-syllable words in his writing, and very few of more than two. He is stingy with modifiers, especially noun adjuncts, and favors short and simple sentences. A comparatively high proportion of his finite verbs are forms of *to be*, and he uses *the* far more often than other writers. The Sweet Talker uses more long words, many adjectives and intensifiers, and a variety of devices to simulate spoken language — dashes, question marks, italics, parentheses, contractions, exclamation points, and incomplete sentences. He is fond of *you*. The Stuffy Talker, not unexpectedly, uses the longest words and more of them, abstract nouns, more and longer subordinate clauses, and a high proportion of passive constructions. He shuns the first and second person.

Many of these relationships seem obvious enough, to be sure, but I found Mr. Gibson's discussion of them fresh and illuminating more often than not. He is a lively and enthusiastic advocate. His dissections of samples from the body of contemporary prose are witty and revealing, if occasionally unfair; so are his translations from one style to another, such as his rewriting of the Surgeon General's conclusion on "Smoking and Health" into Sweet advertising rhetoric. ("... Why not cut out expensive, evil-smelling, disease-laden cigarette smoking for good? ...") I would quarrel with many of his judgments. Why, for instance, is a clear and concise, though admittedly Stuffy, statement of a college admissions policy necessarily improved by a personal, man-to-man tone? But I think the basic conceit of the book works, in that it suggests one more useful angle of view from which writers can continue to strain to see themselves as others read them.

If only Mr. Gibson had been content to settle for this modest achievement he would have had a more successful book. Unfortunately, he has become so intoxicated with his word counts that he has fallen into the scientific trap. He has attempted to transform his amorphous aperçus into hard crystals of linguistic logic, a structure of measurable values. The final two sections of his book, cautiously listed

Noted in brief

LIBEL: RIGHTS, RISKS, RESPONSIBILITIES. By Robert H. Phelps and E. Douglas Hamilton. The Macmillan Company, New York, \$7.95.

This is a handbook that belongs in every newsroom, but the publishers neglected to furnish the rivets to keep it there. The subject of libel is itself so fascinating (encompassing all the peccadilloes, heinous crimes, debaucheries, malfeasance, romantic aberrations and imbecilities alleageable), and the authors exploit it so adroitly, that the editor who tries using this book as a reference is likely to be lost for the day. No matter: he will feel a lot better when he is done. The authors show that, so long as his heart is pure and he understands the rules, an editor now has less to fear from the courts in this country than ever. In the course of reaching this conclusion, they explain a good many of the rules by citing more than 250 cases (mostly recent) that illustrate one point or another. They do it crisply and with the zest the subject deserves. Mr. Phelps, news editor of the Washington Bureau of *The New York Times*, and Mr. Hamilton, a New York attorney and teacher, also have some thoughtful comments to make about the social responsibilities that accompany this greater freedom to print.

LOUIS M. STARR

as appendices but integral to it nonetheless, apply his findings to a "Style Machine" — a system of scoring passages for points in Toughness, Sweetness, and Stiffness. The result is appalling.

Even were one to grant, for the sake of argument, the dubious proposition that these qualities of voice could be measured in this way, that Mr. Gibson had accurately defined their stylistic stigmata, and that a useful purpose would be served in being able to describe a piece of prose as 35 per cent Tough, 40 per cent Sweet, and so on, what has been done here in the name of statistical analysis shouldn't happen to a television election forecasting machine. The author's disarming references to his system as a "primitive beginning" are irrelevant; he doesn't know what to do with the little data he has. If he had shown even a rudimentary understanding of the ideas of sampling, weighting, and the like, he might at least have given us the basis for an entertaining language game — and maybe something more than that. As it is, he doesn't even explain how to "score" the ambiguous and arbitrary points he has listed. When he applies them to sample passages, therefore, the fig-

BOOKS

ures are mystifying rather than illustrative. One result of Mr. Gibson's disastrous expedition into the unfamiliar world of the Number People is that it lessens our confidence in him as a guide in the world of the Word People. Too bad, since (to end with a little sweet talk) he has much to say that is provocative and useful.

LEONARD C. LEWIN

Leonard C. Lewin is a New York free-lance writer. His Report from Iron Mountain is scheduled for publication in August by Dial Press.

Broadcasting's adolescence

A TOWER IN BABEL. By Erik Barnouw. Oxford University Press, New York. \$8.50.

In his introduction to *A Tower in Babel*, Erik Barnouw, a professor of dramatic arts at Columbia, comments that the focus of the volume (and the two to follow) will "be on what has been broadcast, by whom and why." He has succeeded in describing the "what" and most of the "whom." *A Tower in Babel* is an excellent factual — "who, what, and when" — history of broadcasting in the United States to 1933.

In the bibliography, Barnouw lists approximately 300 sources, most of which are unpublished. These sources consist of taped reminiscences of people who played significant roles in the development of broadcasting but who, for one reason or another, never got around to writing about their experiences. The Columbia University Oral History Research Office became the repository of what they had to say.

The titles of Barnouw's five chapters — "Voices," "War," "Towers," "Web," and "Panic" — cryptically indicate the historical scope of the volume. It first describes the "amateur experimenters" — from Bell in 1880 to those that followed during the next three decades — who kept insisting that voices

could be projected beyond the limit of human capacity. A later chapter describes the postwar activities of the youthful and bubbling electronic pioneers who believed that every city should have one or more of its own radio towers. For some, local programming was not sufficient and Barnouw describes also the activities of the network pioneers. The last chapter deals with the decade of social and economic chaos that preceded the Communications Act of 1934.

All of the factual information in the volume is important — very important — to have, but it constitutes only the poet's dictionary and the artist's brush. Although, from time to time, there are references to, and brief analyses of, sociological or political phenomena of the period, essentially the emphasis is upon facts. The volume fails to satisfy what Wilbur Schramm has described as the chief reason for studying communications: "to find out more about people and their society."

As I read the book, I was struck by the number of basic issues which the industry faces today that are essentially the same as those which the infant industry faced forty years ago, when the Federal Radio Commission was established. The primary differences are in the amounts at stake and the intensity of the struggles.

In the late 1920's, the Federal Radio Commission expressed its concern over the overcommercialization of broadcasting; today, hardly a week goes by that one or more Federal Communications Commissioners does not, in one form (or forum) or another, express similar concern. Efforts were made in the mid-1920's to reserve radio frequencies for educational institutions; today the reserved educational channels are a source of anxiety and concern to the FCC, Congress, and foundations. When George Bernard Shaw praised the Soviet Union over the CBS facilities, a Father Walsh demanded and received time to answer this "licensed charlatan of English letters" and, thus, began to sketch the outlines of the current FCC's "fairness doctrine."

There has been a continuous ebb and flow between the industry and the American social order in which it was born. Radio tasted the exhilaration of adolescence at the very time that this country was experiencing chronic but not terminal economic disorders. Radio's success was stimulated by the gloom and the agonies of economic chaos. It was a time when people had little to spend on entertainment, but needed it most. Families had to find en-

tainment in their own or their neighbors' living rooms. At the same time, radio stations began to operate longer hours and needed more than one shift of manpower. Phonograph records had not yet become a common source of programming; live programs could be produced cheaply. There was an abundance of talent; props were unnecessary; the microphone did not reflect the make-up of the artist or whether he was unshaven and wore dirty clothes. Stations were hungry for business, actors and musicians were simply hungry, and advertisers could experiment at nominal cost. This was, indeed, a period when society itself, and particularly its decaying economic order, nurtured and shaped the development and growth of a medium.

Beginning with the second quarter of the century, the mass media were becoming the new welders of nationhood. They took over — abetted by air transportation — where the railroads had ended. Movies were distributed and exhibited everywhere. Newspapers, such as the *Des Moines Register* and *Tribune* and *The Oklahoman* were becoming statewide institutions. National news magazines were beginning to stimulate a national culture. The media were beginning to provide the method by which we heard what other Americans had to say (even though there was no opportunity to talk back).

During the two hundred years after Gutenberg invented mobile type, there were very few recordings of who said what to whom and what persons played active roles in the development of that strange new mass medium. Because *A Tower in Babel* was written, future historians will not be completely in the dark as to how radio started, what sources and resources were at work to accelerate (or impede) its growth, and who were the men that gave it momentum.

At least we now know where we have been. That is a beginning in attempting to understand the interrelationships between broadcasting and the social, economic, and political orders. We need this information if we are to continue to explore and try to understand the "why" and "wherefore" of broadcasting.

MARCUS COHN

Marcus Cohn is a communications lawyer and teaches "Public Policy and the Mass Media" at George Washington University.

Out of the grease pit

THE NEWSROOM AND THE NEWSCAST. Radio Television News Directors Association and Time-Life Broadcast, Inc., New York. \$2.50.

This may be the most useful non-book of the year. It is a companion piece of two earlier volumes — *Television Newsfilm Standards Manual* and *Television Newsfilm: Content* — and, like them, should go a long way toward helping broadcast journalists pursue their search for professional identity.

No one knows, claims to the contrary notwithstanding, what broadcast journalism really ought to be. It is too new, and the medium itself is too volatile to submit to easy definition. The search for an answer goes on, day in and day out in radio and television stations across the nation, and, as Wolcott Gibbs once wrote of another medium, where it all will end knows God.

In the meantime, we ought to be giving all the credit that is due to the Radio Television News Directors Association, whose members not only meet and ponder important questions, but put the fruits of their pondering between covers for others to read. Meetings were held this year in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Atlanta, Dallas, and Burbank. Under discussion were such practical problems as how to lay out a newsroom, how to staff it, how to build and maintain a library, how to mount a 60-minute newscast, how to make the most of color, and a look at the implications of all-news radio. The results take up 112 pages of print, and are at times not only practical but allegorical. As, for instance, the following from a news director in Utah:

For a long time our newsroom was in the basement of our building which was formerly a garage. We called it the dungeon. I'm sure it must have been a grease pit. If something really big broke and you had to get up to the studio in a hurry, you had to sprint up three flights of stairs and it took 10 minutes to stop panting so you could go on the air. There were eight of us down there and we were all ecstatic when, about a year and a half ago, we were emancipated.

Men like this — if given the chance — may yet emancipate us all.

LAWRENCE D. PINKHAM

Lawrence D. Pinkham is an associate professor of journalism at Columbia.

REPORT ON REPORTS

The following are summaries and reviews of articles and other current material dealing with journalism. They were prepared by the editor with assistance from the editorial staff.

Social history

"The Kingdoms, The Powers, And The Glories Of The New York Times," by Gay Talese. *ESQUIRE*, November, 1966.

Esquire continues to be addicted to the *Times*, this being no less than its fourth article bearing on that newspaper in three years. This one, destined to be part of an ex-*Times* reporter's book on the paper, contains a great deal of who-drank-with-whom-to-get-where, covering twenty years and more of social history. The article was declared by the managing editor, Clifton Daniel (the most prominent figure), to be "fair and reasonable" (*Newsweek*, October 24). Certainly, only insiders could possibly challenge an article based so much on recollection. For outsiders, the details eventually become onerous, for there is scarcely more blood or passion in the inside history of the *Times* than there might be in, say, the inner history of the Pierce administration.

White-out

"What's Not So Funny About the Funnies," by Ponchitta Pierce. *EBONY*, November, 1966.

An associate editor on *Ebony* explains the almost total absence of Negro characters in comic strips as a result of economic caution and the void left when stereotyped characters were banished. She lists a few exceptions — a strip called *Wee Pals*, servicemen in *Steve Canyon*, the long-lived Asbestos in Ken Kling's *Joe and Asbestos* (now without his dia-

lect and exaggerated lips). But the general situation remains one of whiteness. Each branch of the syndication industry says, at least as quoted here, that it would not mind but somebody else — the salesman, the editor, the public — might. The outlook is for slow integration.

One wire to the world

"Trends in U.S. Newspapers' Wire Service Resources, 1934-66," by Richard A. Schwarzlose. *JOURNALISM QUARTERLY*, Winter, 1966.

In an analysis based on his University of Illinois doctoral dissertation, a Purdue professor finds too little inclination on the part of American newspapers to enrich their news diet. Only 31 per cent of the 1,748 papers he tabulated in 1966 use more than one major wire or supplementary news service (not counting, of course, feature syndicates). The rest, for the most part, use only AP or UPI. Schwarzlose concludes: "... wire resources are abundant for the reader lucky enough to live in or near large cities with large and/or competing newspapers. But for the 50% of the American reading public living in or near communities of 25,000 or less, one wire depicts the world ..."

The grand tour

"America's Press on Safari," by Francis Pollock. *THE NATION*, November 7, 1966.

The writer, a Peace Corpsman in Africa for three years and a Columbia journalism student for one, describes efforts of the South African government to create favorable propaganda in the United States through junkets for journalists. Pollock reports that

twenty-nine American writers made expense-paid, guided trips to South Africa in 1965 and 1966. The cost to that government, in 1966, was estimated at \$35,000 or, as Pollock says, "slightly less than the cost of six full-page advertisements in *The New York Times*." "Such ads," he comments, "must bear the imprint required by the Justice Department; the glowing testimonials of journalists do not."

Pollock contrasts with the junkets the hostile treatment given journalists from whom South Africa anticipates criticism: the failure to renew the visa of Joseph Lelyveld of *The New York Times* in 1966 and the resistance to efforts of Henry Morgenthau III to make a film on South Africa for educational television. Morgenthau succeeded by subterfuge and he is now dismissed, by the South African Information Service, says Pollock, as a "Communist sympathizer."

Although Pollock has no specific recommendations, the message is clear enough: As long as one segment of American journalism accepts South Africa's guided tours, it will be that much harder for unguided journalists to work in that country.

Book-shuffler

"What I Did to Books and Vice Versa," by Richard Kluger. *HARPER'S MAGAZINE*, December, 1966.

A former editor of *Book Week*, the supplement spawned by the *New York Herald Tribune* and now distributed in three major newspapers, distills his experience of book-shuffling and reviewer-finding into rules and principles. (Examples: You can tell a book by its cover. Good young reviewers are better than old bad ones.)

In passing, he evaluates the book-review scene as follows: "Reviewing was long considered the province of young literary hustlers... I think the situation changed with the arrival of *Book Week* and *The New York Review*, with their salutary effects on the *New York Times Book Review*...; with the marked improvement in the caliber of reviewing in *The Nation*, *The New Republic* (where it is still very erratic, however), *Commonweal*, *Newsweek*, and *Harper's*; with the infusion of fresh blood at *Partisan Review*; with the continuing high caliber of *Commentary's* reviews; and with the introduction of book reviews (often by first-rate people) in, of all places, *Life*."

The new Chandler

"How to Build an Empire." *NEWSWEEK*, January 2, 1967.

A cover story describes the growth of Otis Chandler, creator of the Augustan age of the *Los Angeles Times*, *Newsweek* offers Chandler and his associates on the *Times* high praise for giving the American West its first paper of national editorial prestige and for an equally substantial business success (third largest circulation in the country, biggest advertising lineage, doubled revenues in five years).

The success has been aided, of course, by the morning-evening division of Los Angeles between Chandler and Hearst, dating from 1962. But it can be attributed even more to the abrupt break Otis Chandler has made with his family's previous paternal journalism. The old way is described in the story in surprisingly frank terms by Norman Chandler, Otis's father: "We were kind of lopsided in those days. . . . If we gave the Republicans a big story, we'd give the Democrats a small one. And we only gave management's side in labor disputes."

Critics of critics

"Assessing Criticism of the Press," *BULLETIN* of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, January 1, 1967.

This is a collection of excerpts from replies to a questionnaire distributed by J. Edward Murray, managing editor of *The Arizona Republic*, to nine men equipped to appraise newspapers from almost as many points of view. Each responds to a series of questions, somewhat as follows:

¶ Have newspapers been gaining in general reputation? The consensus is that they have, with dissents entered by Ben H. Bagdikian and Representative John E. Moss.

¶ Is there more criticism of newspapers? A split vote, divided among yesses, noes, and don't knows.

¶ Who are the main critics? A scattered list, including editors, magazines, professional groups, members of other professions, politicians, publicity-seeking groups.

¶ What are the most valid criticisms? Mishandling in various ways of important or complicated news, poor editing, bulk, editorial weaknesses, lack of talent.

This ad was unacceptable

By GENE R. BELEY

A California realty company that sought to eliminate the broker in home sales went out of business recently because, its principals say, Los Angeles area papers refused to print its advertisements. The incident, which involved the Galar Corporation of Van Nuys, appears to be primarily one in which publishers exercised their prerogative of refusing ads to protect their own interests and those of their advertisers.

Three papers — the giant *Los Angeles Times*, a small daily, and a thriving free-circulation "throwaway" — turned down Galar's ads. A "throwaway" that did run the ads says it was pressured by its other real estate advertisers to discontinue them. When the ads kept running, some of these advertisers dropped out of the paper.

The refusing papers clearly indicated that Galar's sales concept was controversial and would antagonize their real estate advertisers. As a matter of general principle, the papers defended their option to refuse ads describing sales concepts that they said could undercut their own advertising services. In Galar's case, this meant the classified-ad section.

To back up their position, the papers can point to a Federal Trade Commission ruling in another case that upheld the right of publications to reject any or all ads. In its ruling, made last October, the FTC stipulated that the right applied as long as publications were not acting in concert, a

Gene R. Beley has worked for newspapers and radio-television in Montana and California and has been a graduate student in journalism at the University of California, Los Angeles. He is now on the Ventura (California) Star-Free Press.

HOME BUYERS - ATTENTION "FOR SALE BY OWNERS - NO CHARGE TO BUYER"

GALAR CORPORATION INTRODUCES A REVOLUTIONARY NEW CONCEPT IN THE PURCHASE OF A HOME.

Q. ARE YOU INTERESTED IN SAVING MONEY IN THE PURCHASE OF YOUR HOME?

A. GALAR CORPORATION FURNISHES DIRECT CONTACT BETWEEN BUYERS AND SELLERS, AND ELIMINATES THE MIDDLE COMMISSION.

Q. WOULD YOU LIKE TO SAVE TIME IN THE SEARCH FOR YOUR HOME?

A. IF THE ANSWER IS YES, GALAR CORPORATION CAN SHOW YOU COLORED PHOTOGRAPHS AND FACT SHEETS ON ALL HOMES WITH IT, "FOR SALE BY OWNER".

Q. ARE YOU TIRED OF HIGH PRESSURE SALESMEN?

A. IF YOU ARE, COME TO GALAR. WE HAVE NO SALESMEN.

ALL SERVICES ARE SUPPLIED FREE TO BUYER

GALAR CORP.



16677 ROSCOE BLVD. VAN NUYS

Telephone: 894-9171

matter not at issue in the Galar case, where the papers apparently acted independently.

While none of the three refusing papers said they turned down Galar's ads because they suspected the firm was doing something illegal, certain realtors allegedly told the paper that did carry the ads that the company was crooked.

Both Galar's president, Garth E. Smith, and its sales manager, Kenneth Larry Leonard, were licensed California real estate brokers. The company's sales concept and advertising copy had been approved by the state's real estate regulatory agency. The ad copy also had been found acceptable by *The Christian Science Monitor*, but Galar could not place lineage there because of the paper's rule that a company has to be in business at least six months before its ads can be carried. In the event, Galar, which had geared its operations to a volume business nourished by advertising, folded after two months last May.

Galar's controversial sales concept was this: For a flat \$85 fee, the company counseled homeowners on how to sell their property, offering

advice on financial, legal, advertising, and other arrangements. It also offered to bring buyer and seller together through a directory containing data on the homes of all subscribers. In its advertising, Galar assured prospective home sellers that its system "eliminates the commission otherwise paid to a broker," and told prospective buyers that if they were "tired of high pressure salesmen . . . come to Galar, we have NO salesmen."

Galar's troubles began when it tried to place an ad in *The Green Sheet*, a free-circulation paper in Van Nuys. Serving the northern Los Angeles area, it is regarded as one of the most successful "throwaways" in the country.

According to Galar's Mr. Smith, *The Green Sheet* would not run Galar's ads because it felt that the copy would be objectionable to its real estate advertisers. Later, in interviews, *Green Sheet* employees evaded this point. "All I can say is that Galar's ad was in competition with our classified section," said a woman who works in that department. Ralph Markham, advertising manager, said: "We don't have to have a reason, we have the right to refuse any ad." In a subsequent letter, he wrote that Galar had been told the ad would have been accepted "if it was properly reworded."

Galar next tried to advertise in *The Valley Times*, a daily of 30,700 circulation. According to Mr. Smith, a *Valley Times* ad salesman told him: "The ad is so controversial that I don't wish to stick my neck out, but will take the matter up with someone else." Mr. Smith said he accepted the salesman's offer to rewrite the ad so it wouldn't be so offensive to realtors. However, *The Valley Times's* ad director, Les Benson, vetoed the revised copy, anyway, Mr. Smith added. In an interview later, Mr. Benson said he scrapped the Galar ad because he didn't have enough background on the company.

Galar had better luck at *The Reminder*, a 50,000-circulation "throwaway" serving several communities in the Los Angeles area. Ken Hoveland, *The Reminder's* publisher, recalls:

"My salesman asked my permission to run the ad. He told me the Galar people had encountered difficulty in placing it with the newspapers. I

asked him if the ad was legal. He said, 'Yes.' 'Why not?' was my reply.

"After the ads appeared, my salesmen in Northridge and Reseda informed me that three or four real estate advertisers had banded together and indicated there wasn't room for Galar and them in the same issue. The realtors then dropped about \$300 a week worth of advertising.

"At that point, I decided I'd better meet the Galar people myself. Mr. Smith said he couldn't blame us for backing out if we wanted. But I told them, 'No sir! We'll run the ads as long as you want to pay for them!'"

Mr. Hoveland said that soon afterward he received calls from real estate people who vaguely charged that Galar was violating the law.

Meanwhile, Galar's ads had been turned down by the *Los Angeles Times*. A *Times* advertising executive, who wished to remain anonymous, said later that refusing Galar-type "blackboard" ads was nothing new for the paper because they conflict with the paper's advertising columns.

"Blackboard ads," he explained, are those that seek to bring buyer and seller together. For example, the *Times* executive said, the paper had turned down an insertion order from a company that had sought to advertise a booklet of jobs available.

Further, he said, the *Times* will not take ads that are derogatory to a particular industry, and Galar's was rejected partly because it would be offensive to real estate brokers.

In its brief life, Galar did get one break — a feature on KNXT, channel 2, in Los Angeles, which affirmed the legality of the enterprise. But the company did not survive.

In theory, Galar's experience could be repeated in every state but Ohio, which in 1959 passed a law guaranteeing the right to advertise. Apparently there have not been abuses of the act; William J. Oertel, executive director of the Ohio Newspaper Association, was quoted in *Editor & Publisher* last year as saying that the law had not injured any person, group, or company since it was instituted. Rather, he added, the law had expanded the ability of persons to exercise their right of "free speech in print" through advertising.

LETTERS

Real estate editor's protest

TO THE REVIEW:

I wish to submit a rebuttal to Ferdinand Kuhn's article, "Blighted Areas of Our Press," referring to newspaper real estate sections, which you carried in your summer, 1966, issue.

Mr. Kuhn says he has been away, traveling in Africa and Asia. He adds that you need to get away to bring, on your return, the American press "into sharp focus." I suggest that if Mr. Kuhn wants to do an intelligent critique on real estate sections, he should stay here and do more research.

He cites bad examples, to be sure. There also are many examples of yellow journalism and biased reporting, but do you condemn the whole press for the bad apples in the barrel?

Mr. Kuhn is apparently not aware, or does not agree, or maybe does not care, about the enlightened newspapers that are doing a meritorious job in bringing their readers news—hard news—of what is happening in the real estate development and building fields. And without letting advertising influence the news columns.

Is he aware of what Ben Schneider produced as real estate editor of the *Miami News*, or Frederic Sherman of the *Miami Herald*? Both are now in other jobs, but each won national prizes for their presentations of housing news. Sherman went so far as to explore what happened to projects that were announced, but didn't happen. It was an interesting, revealing series.

Has Mr. Kuhn looked at the work of the late Lillard McGee of *The Commercial Appeal* in Memphis? He won a national prize—I know, because he beat me out—with a submission that in-

cluded a story on new apartment living concepts (of which Mr. Kuhn was so critical in your piece) and I failed to notice a single apartment ad in his section.

I gather that Mr. Kuhn would have real estate editors become journalistic crusaders, looking for exposés provoking controversy, and hunting for reasons, no matter how flimsy, to criticize. Public defenders, I think he calls the writers whom he chooses to praise. Shades of Horace Greeley—NO! There are enough of that ilk already—journalistic pretenders setting themselves up as experts in fields in which they are not expert.

Would Mr. Kuhn have the real estate editors become experts in solving matters of deep political, sociological, and ethnic significance—the problems that have baffled even the best scholars?

Let's stick to reporting of facts. The reader is much more interested in what is happening than in what someone thinks should be happening, particularly a pseudo-expert. And maybe the real estate editor who is doing real reporting is doing more to accomplish the very goals that Mr. Kuhn outlines than Mr. Kuhn realizes.

In real estate reporting, you cover activities of architects, builders, developers, the real estate people who sell, and other facets of the industry. It takes an architect eight years or more even to become licensed. A good builder must have years of experience. So must the developers. Can the real estate reporter set himself up as the all-knowing expert in all these fields? The well-trained reporter can do something better than anyone else. He can tell what they are doing and how they are doing it, without injecting his own opinion. With that, he is performing a much more welcome service to the reading public than any self-ordained crusader.

Can Mr. Kuhn cite any evidence, any tangible evidence, where real estate writing crusaders have accomplished anything? Just one concrete example?

However, much more to the point in Mr. Kuhn's criticisms, I think, is his charge about the rela-

tion of real estate news coverage with advertising. He suggests that real estate sections and writers have become the pawns of builders and developers who advertise.

Some seem to have, I agree. There is much too much of this. But I submit that newspapers which tie in their real estate coverage to advertising strings are missing real opportunities.

Contrast it with those who do a bona fide job of real estate reporting. They are building up strong sections that draw advertising, based not on the puffs but on the popularity of the news content.

I know this to be true because of my San Diego experience with a section that grew from a couple of pages each week, lost in the main news columns, to a Sunday section that has had as many as thirty to thirty-four pages.

Mr. Kuhn is disturbed by what he terms the "hard sell" in stories about the "Parade of Homes," an annual event in some communities, promoted by home builders. He said he looked for the word "advt." in this connection. Does he also look for the word "advt." in the news of a sports attraction that may attract 50,000 spectators? Such events usually draw nationwide coverage. In San Diego, the Parade of Homes has drawn more than 50,000 persons in a single week. And that's not news? We cover all the homes without bothering to find which developers are advertising and how much. Some of them didn't.

Mr. Kuhn says he finds most real estate news copy is justified only as "shinplaster to keep the ads from bumping." My section carries up to fifty columns of news and feature content weekly. The editorial matter has occasionally been more than the advertising linage. That's quite a cushion.

Looking back over Mr. Kuhn's article, I find he uses such terms as "pollution" in real estate news, "pseudo-news," "rank fragrance of salesmanship," "real estate junk," and complains about adjectives "dripping" from the copy.

I suggest his critique reeks with ridicule, is rank with ignorance, and is replete with inconsistency

and hypocrisy. Stay home, Mr. Kuhn, and do more research.

CLYDE V. SMITH
Real Estate Editor
The San Diego Union

The Guild

TO THE COLUMBIA JOURNALISM
REVIEW MAGAZINE:

I write letters to editors almost never, but the story you ran in the *Columbia Journalism Review* magazine, fall, 1966, issue, was so beautiful and so very great that right away I had to send this to you.

Well, I loved the byline. You let the writer put down "By Barclay Hudson." Under it you explained that "Barclay Hudson" is a pen name for a reporter on the *World Journal Tribune* newspaper. This is real good. I think all universities should encourage and teach journalism students not to put their right names over stories that could create a little heat. I only wish that I had gone to a journalism class in the Columbia University school because then I would have learned not to put my right name over some stories, too. This would have saved me a lot of rough days on newspapers. You see, sometimes people don't like what you write about them. If you come off the streets, and not out of a very big journalism school, you have to learn how to face people who are mad at you. But the Columbia school has this very great short cut which I think is beautiful: don't use your right name. Absolutely marvelous. You people have found a way to remove guts as a quality of a writer.

The word writer brings up another very great part of the article. I adored the lead. I would like to write it down here just to remind myself how great it is:

"The New York newspaper merger — journalism's Bay of Pigs — was such a debacle that even large losses were obscured by the general catastrophe. But as the dust clears..."

I am going to sit at the typewriter every day and put this lead down on top of my first sheet of paper as a reminder to me how marvelous English can be when it is used in flowing, understated sentences with fresh words in them.

Past the lead, there were those great paragraphs in the story which started off with things like "Curiously enough..." and "Ostensibly," and, in the next paragraph, "Meanwhile."

I particularly enjoyed the mentions of myself and Richard Schaap and Walt Kelly. We are enemies of the newspapermen and we drink too much and, marvelous line, we are a "millstone around the neck of anyone who intends to make that effort."

I say today to the *Columbia Journalism Review* magazine that I will go into the streets and fight to the death anybody who says that the story in your magazine was the product of a vague-thinking, untalented, frightened little piece of hack. And I will battle forever for the Columbia journalism school's right to print, and thus approve, a story under a made-up byline and with the lead and writing style of this one.

Please keep up your terrific work and I know that all the students you are teaching to do things this way will come out and be real good in newspapers on account of their training in your school. Congratulations.

JIMMY BRESLIN
World Journal Tribune
New York

TO THE REVIEW:

This is in re "The Guild: Dead but Alive" by "Barclay Hudson" in the fall, 1966, issue.

I wish to inform you that the title is half wrong. The Guild is not dead, but it is alive. And if "Barclay Hudson," an admitted pen name for a former *World-Telegram & Sun* reporter now on *WJT*, thinks otherwise, it is not too difficult to arrive at the reasons why.

Barclay (for 125 Barclay Street, address of the old *W-T&S* and of the new *WJT*) Hudson (for the river a short smelling distance

away) is obviously unhappy because, in spite of all the right things he has been doing, things have not come out right for him. He has been playing footsy with management of *W-T&S* and maybe now *WJT*, violating the Guild contract by failing to put in for overtime worked, otherwise bending backwards to undercut the contract the Guild won for him. But management has brushed him aside, failed to give him all the bylines and merit raises he is obviously entitled to, ignored him when he should have been recognized.

So... he comes to a conclusion: That it's the Guild's fault. If the Guild weren't there, if some one stood up for him who really understood what a fine writer he was and how important writers like him were to the world and how unimportant everybody else was — if that happened, why, things would be better for him.

He thinks, and writes, that the Guild hasn't done right by the likes of him, but he is one — and I venture to describe him here in full confidence that the description fits — he is one who did nothing at all to better the Guild of which he has been a member and about which he complains, who never sat in a negotiations meeting or a grievance meeting, who never spent an erg of energy or gave up a drinking man's cocktail hour of time to fight for better pay, better conditions for other newspaper people — yes, news-editorial people, if you will.

He has grievances but, you may have noticed, despite his balanced plague-on-both-your-houses approach he is one who never takes his grievance to management... it's so much easier to blame the union than the boss. But the brute fact of life is that it's from the boss, not the union, that you win a pay raise — by fighting for the correction of a grievance.

Mr. Hudson is one of those who, when the wind blows and the rain falls, cries out, "Why didn't somebody fix the leak in the roof?" He means, always, *somebody else*.

His solution to our troubles — another union, of editorial peo-

LETTERS

ple only — is a solution that ain't. It is not unlike a national policy which would say that, in time of war, be sure you have no allies. The editorial people need allies, first of all those in their own shops, if they are to gain anything the publishers don't wish to give away. And they don't wish to give away much.

One more point, please. "Barclay Hudson" has much to say about how humiliating it is that the Guild is no longer top dog among newspaper unions, that Bert Powers' ITU is. Sorry. But whether this is or is not true is, to us, and surely to the great majority of Guild members, completely immaterial. We're not playing a game, even though Barclay Hudson may think of it in those terms, in which top prize goes to the first place winner. The purpose of the Guild is to win best pay and conditions for newspaper and news-magazine people. We're not in a race for place. And if there is a way to achieve our purpose better than the present leadership has found, why, let Barclay Hudson propose it to us — or let him come out and challenge the present leadership before the members, in other words take over the leadership, if he has a better way, from the present administration.

We had an election only a few weeks ago. It was an election in which the present administration was re-elected without opposition. The Barclay Hudsons didn't even make a try or raise a peep.

What's the matter — no guts?

Or just no confidence in the validity of what they're saying.

And as a side query: When the undersigned was a newspaper reporter-writer, which he was for many, many years, and while he taught the young journalists how to find their way to a good lead without the 5 Ws, there used to be a rule of journalistic ethics which said, in effect, that before you

print a piece attacking a Rockefeller or the Chamber of Commerce, you give said money man or business organization the chance to answer in the same issue of the paper. Now, I am not sure that the old rule applied, even then, to such as the Newspaper Guild.

But — well, we weren't asked to answer. And if this answer sees the light of print, it will be months later.

I. KAUFMAN

Editor

Newspaper Guild of New York

THE AUTHOR REPLIES: Mr. Breslin is obviously not a man who is interested in subtleties, so I'll just say that I used a phony name partly for fun and partly for serious reasons. Mostly, I thought I could be franker if my bosses didn't know who I was.

Since Mr. Breslin blamed Columbia for my faults, I have to add that I've never taken a journalism course at the J-school and I was brought up in the East Bronx. The way I write is a reflection of my personality, just as Mr. Breslin's style is a reflection of his.

I wish he had talked less about personality and more about the substance of my article. Does he still think the move to start a new union was wise? And what has happened to it lately?

Mr. Kaufman is a wonder. Without ever meeting me, he knows that I have a grievance against management that I'm taking out on the Guild. This puts me in a tough spot. If I have no grievance, I'm a management fink. If I have a grievance, I'm a fink for not supporting the union. I'll dodge that choice and say I distrust management and dislike the Guild, as do most of the young reporters I know. Mr. Kaufman's letter, with its failure to grasp what motivates us, is an excellent explanation of that dislike. But if it comes to a pinch, I'll go with the union.

The contest with the printers was a fight for power, not prestige; a major point of the article is that the Guild now must accept whatever the printers accept. I wish I

knew a better way, but at least I don't pretend this present situation is good.

Fight an election? We just had a vote at the *WJT*, with organization and insurgent slates. One man was on both slates, running for different offices. He got three times as many votes on the organization slate. In fact, everyone on the organization slate outpolled everyone on the insurgent slate three to one. As I said in the article, the clerks have a tight hold, and they're not letting go.

Is Mr. Kaufman's last paragraph serious? Does he really think that quarterly journalism is exactly the same as daily newspapering? And how many quotes from the Kingston Press have Guild newspapers run lately?

Saucer reports

TO THE REVIEW:

Just read Herb Strentz' survey of Chicago and Detroit dailies' treatment of the unidentified flying objects sighted in southern Michigan last March ("Seeing Saucers," fall, 1966).

My purpose here is not to comment on the obvious prejudicial nature of Mr. Strentz' survey — meaning he obviously thought the week-long series of stories on the subject worthless — but rather to defend my reporting of a statement made by Dr. Allen J. Hynek in an interview with myself and a reporter from the Chatham, Ontario, radio station.

The interview was made in the tiny police station at Dexter, Michigan, on the day Dr. Hynek conducted his superficial investigation of the Dexter sighting. (As far as I can ascertain, only CBS, the Chatham reporter, and I were able to obtain an interview with Dr. Hynek during his Michigan investigation.)

Mr. Strentz said in his "survey": "Four dealt with the alleged statement 'These Michigan reports are more consistent than most of the

other sightings I've investigated.' The disputed quotation was reported by the *Sun-Times*, the *Free Press*, and the *American* on March 24." Mr. Strentz then proceeded to offer a *Chicago Tribune* quote from Dr. Hynek denying the above statement and an affirmation by Dr. Hynek the *Tribune* quotation was correct.

I can only say that Dr. Hynek did make the statement about consistency that day in the police station. My notes prove it, and, I believe, the tape made by the radio station reporter of the interview will prove it. I cannot say why Dr. Hynek would retract his statement later for the *Tribune*, unless he found it embarrassing.

Mr. Strentz may find it worthwhile to read Dr. Hynek's official swamp gas theory report to the press made following that week of sightings. I believe he would find it a rather interesting statement to have been made by a man of science of Dr. Hynek's stature.

HOWARD FIELDS
United Press International
Chicago

MR. STRENTZ REPLIES: Call it "prejudicial," as Mr. Fields does, or unpalatable, or lamentable, but the evidence was that much of the news coverage of UFO sightings was propped up by irresponsible journalism.

The "irresponsible" label must not be affixed to the reporting of the disputed Hynek quotation, however. As noted in this article, the coverage of what Dr. Hynek said was generally accurate.

The astronomer, however, was as adamant in denying the "more consistent" quotation as Mr. Fields is in supporting it. Dr. Hynek said he would not have said the reports of the sightings were more consistent "because they were not."

The answer that "Hynek may have said it but did not mean it that way" is sure to please no one. But it is offered here and it is suggested that the "more consistent" dispute was related to another quotation attributed to Dr. Hynek; he said he was impressed by

the sincerity of witnesses in that almost all reported just what they saw and did not add or invent bizarre details.

Still, it is noteworthy that those papers giving more sensationalized coverage to the sightings gave good play to the "more consistent" quote while the conservative *Tribune* unearthed the clarification or denial. The reader apparently got the version the paper wanted him to have.

I read Dr. Hynek's official statement several times. It was interesting that significant parts of it were not reported in most of the papers. All papers studied emphasized that the UFOs or lights seemed to move with incredible speed. But virtually all ignored Dr. Hynek's explanation of the movement—flames going out in one area and starting in another.

Yankee broadcasts

TO THE REVIEW:

In the fall issue you accuse the New York Yankees and CBS of "collaborating in the dismissal of a reporter for reporting," referring to Red Barber. And you ask, "Could not CBS prevail upon itself to permit sports journalism to grow up?" Apparently the *Review* cannot distinguish between fiction and fact.

The New York Yankees did not dismiss Barber. He was employed on a year-to-year contract basis, and when his contract expired in October it was not renewed. He was not "let go for trying to report uncomfortable facts—such as the small crowds that turned up for the Yankees' disastrous season." This is a ridiculous and wholly untrue assertion. (Incidentally, attendance figures are made public, published and broadcast, as part of the official statistics of each game.)

Red Barber's contract was not renewed because he did not fit into the plans of the Yankees management for improving the quality of Yankee baseball broadcasts. We

are in the process of doing what is precisely at the heart of your rhetorical question.

I think you will agree it's my turn to ask a question: "Could not the *Review* prevail upon itself to check its facts before publishing misinformation?"

MICHAEL BURKE
Chairman and president
New York Yankees Inc.

EDITORS' COMMENT: The *Review* based its editorial on accounts in New York City newspapers, particularly the *Times*. These accounts referred repeatedly to Mr. Barber's "dismissal" and linked the action with what Mr. Barber had said, or tried to say, on the air. The *Review* welcomes Mr. Burke's statement that the goal of the change is to improve the quality of Yankee baseball broadcasts.

Negro radio

TO THE REVIEW:

Dave Berkman's article on Negro radio "The segregated medium" in the fall, 1966, issue, seems to have been written from a position of profound ignorance and prejudice.

I should think that a publication that has done so much in communications research would insist that its contributors take some pains to find out what they are writing about.

Mr. Berkman's research apparently consisted of listening to one or two Negro stations, and no white ones. His fact-gathering techniques seem equally unfortunate. Since a Detroit station ten years ago was able to say it was the first Negro-owned outlet, Mr. Berkman concludes without more that "Negro radio is almost exclusively white-owned." And there is always a vague unnamed "study" to back up his questionable assertions.

More mystifying, though, is Mr. Berkman's insistence that only Negro stations are the province of addle-brained disk jockeys and unctuous soft-sellers. These are

LETTERS

vices of nearly every radio station on my dial, and it is sheer bigotry to ascribe them solely to Negro outlets.

Here in Montgomery, the Negro stations are the only ones that take the slightest interest in the Negro community. They are the only ones on which a Negro listener can hear a Negro voice. I do not remember the situation's being any different when I lived in Chicago.

Mr. Berkman may prefer cultured white tones to what he calls the "Negro speech pattern," and he may prefer "quality" Negro jazz to "soul" music. But many Americans, white and black, do not share his tastes, and there is no reason why they should.

MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN
Editor, *The Southern Courier*
Montgomery, Alabama

MR. BERKMAN REPLIES: My "ignorance," "profound" or otherwise, is given to conjecture. But having worked professionally for a year in the civil rights movement (with less formal involvement before and since), I feel that the charge of prejudice is not.

Obviously, most of my Negro listening has been in New York, since I reside here. However, I have driven through more than forty states in the past year and a half, making it a point to tune in race stations wherever I could. Never did I hear anything that would cause me to qualify the judgments I offered. (I find it significant that the only Negro station to defend itself against what I wrote did so by sending a copy of a press release announcing that it would help finance a separate, non-commercial FM station "directed primarily to fulfilling the educational and cultural needs of the cultural community" — which makes one wonder what this highly profitable—and, yes, white-owned!

—AM station has been doing all these years!)

A reading of the very paragraph in which I conclude that "Negro radio is almost exclusively white-owned" shows I don't make this assertion "without more (research)." But I am surprised to find Mr. Lottman identifying himself with that anti-activist school of pedantry that insists we must hold off asserting, and thus acting, until the obvious is laboriously footnoted.

Since the article concerned Negro radio, I was only once able to suggest that much of "white radio" is no less "addled." I refer Mr. Lottman, however, to my piece in the fall, 1965, *Review*, in which, I think, I can hardly be accused of being any less condemnatory of non-race broadcasting.

I, too, would be surprised if any but Negro stations took even the slightest interest in the Negro community in Montgomery. In the urban North, this is not so. However, I am also surprised Mr. Lottman seems to accept that the alternative lies in a "separate-but-equal" service.

I granted the existence of an identifiable speech pattern among Negroes which can be termed "Negroid," just as some native-born Jews display "second generation Jewish speech." But aren't we working toward the situation wherein the Negro who does not "sound Negro" can make it on the same terms as the Jew who doesn't "sound Jewish?" Both Uncle Tom, and my not-so-fictional "King Cretin" "sounded Negro" and both served white masters.

I'm sure that, as with other ethnic minorities, there exists among Negroes an "ethnic affect" which, in this instance, is termed "soul." But I doubt that the commercialized, "hippy-dippy, soul-sound" of Negro radio is more than superficially related to real "soul." In fact, I find its contrived presentation on race stations more than slightly reminiscent of the old "at-least-you-gotta-admit-they-all-got-rhythm" mentality still found among some whites (especially those who own and run Negro radio stations!).

Acne, right or left?

TO THE REVIEW:

In Melvin Mencher's excellent piece, "The Roving Listener," in your fall issue, Mr. Mencher says he had never known that acne had a political coloration until he listened to *Lifeline* comparing pimply young leftists with fresh-faced Young Americans for Freedom.

The fact is that the acne method of determining an individual's political philosophy was used by Norman Mailer in the November, 1964, issue of *Esquire* in a report on the 1964 Republican National Convention in San Francisco. Mr. Mailer implied that acne was a characteristic of a young radical rightist.

Mailer had convinced me, but now I don't know what to believe.

DERRY EYNON
Mt. Morris, Illinois

Realism or vulgarity?

TO THE REVIEW:

In your excellent efforts to appraise the performance of the American press it would be helpful when the opportunity arises to note a tendency toward vulgarity.

A case in point: In its November 4 issue *Time* magazine quoted source identified only as a "Coloradan" as stating the President of the United States is a "triple-plated son of a bitch."

Time must have weighed the opportunity to paraphrase. The fact that it did not, leaves the free press intact but Mr. Johnson would be less than human if he did not feel *Time* had imposed an unreasonable price in behalf of its own editorial standards. Moreover, *Time* enjoys the sanctuary provided by the fact that the President cannot publicly protest without demeaning his high office.

THOMAS B. TIGHE
Asbury Park (N.J.) Press

Comment on a question of law

TO THE REVIEW:

Articles in the summer, 1966, *Columbia Journalism Review* re-emphasize an old problem — the swapping of editorial space for advertising or special favors. No newsman and few readers of real estate, travel, or women's sections of most newspapers can doubt that the practice exists.

A remedy is close at hand, however. It involves simply application of the law regulating second class mailing permits and a parallel regulation of the Federal Communications Commission. If these two were enforced, both newspaper content and broadcast material might be radically changed.

For two years the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations heard evidence indicting the mass media for serving as a front for public relations efforts by agents of foreign governments. However, it found that both foreign and domestic organizations are able to circulate articles, editorials, pictures, and broadcasts as though they came from independent reporters. Estimates of the percentage of total space or time devoted to such material ranges from 50 to 80 per cent for newspapers up to 100 per cent for movie newsreels.

The Senate hearings were on the Foreign Agents Registration Act, which requires the registration of agents for foreign governments and labeling of political propaganda. For example, the public relations agency hired by Nationalist China must register and identify its releases as paid for by a foreign government. But the act says nothing about what an American does when he uses the material. He can, and does, pass it on with no indication that it was provided by an interested party.

If any "valuable consideration" is involved, however, a publication holding a second class mailing permit may be breaking the law. The law reads: "Editorial or other reading matter contained in publications entered as second class mail and for the publication of which

a valuable consideration is paid, accepted, or promised shall be marked plainly 'advertisement' by the publisher." (39 U.S. Code 4367) The law makes no distinction between publicity for South Africa and publicity for the local ball club.

Since there have been no court tests since the statute was declared constitutional in 1912, it is not clear just how much ground it covers. Certainly it includes those few papers that openly ask pay for publicity. Travel editors who get free vacations and sports writers who get travel allowances from a ball club could be under the ban. Conceivably any junket story could be covered.

The question of wire service or syndicated material is more involved. Since the papers do not

"That's Show Biz" Spoofs Rock 'N Roll

"That's Show Biz," an "F Troop" episode running on ABC-TV Feb. 2, is a spoof on rock 'n' roll combos, although the time of the story is 100 years before rock rhythm was born. The comedy will have "F Troop" regulars in long hair, playing musical instruments as members of "The Termites."

A popular rhythm and rock group called "The Factory" will appear in the frontier days' jazz effort. The story is by Arthur

Plug from Bridgeport Post

pay directly for a particular article, the statute might not apply. On the other hand, the papers are receiving expensive editorial features at far less than their actual cost (thus, the equivalent of a "valuable consideration"). For example, many publications bought "free lance" materials on Taiwan for \$10 to \$15 a story, or got them free, the man who wrote the articles was paid \$25,000 a year by the Chinese government, through its agency, to do the writing.

Broadcasters have been reminded of the second law involved,

an FCC regulation which requires the station to identify the real sponsor of any material for which the station receives anything of value. (47 U.S. Code 3.289). In recent years, the press raised a furor over the statute as applied to disk jockey payola, but it has a broader scope. For instance, several stations were admonished in 1958 for using kinescopes of Senate hearings on the Kohler labor strike without acknowledging that the National Association of Manufacturers had furnished the film. In August, 1962, the FCC specifically warned against unidentified use of controversial foreign material.

The law is definite in requiring stations to identify the real source and not just the agent who handled the release. It covers all material, including filler films and the "public service" programs popular with small radio stations.

Beyond legal controls, of course, any profession has an obligation for its own discipline. Yet of all the professional societies involved in the Senate investigation — the American Bar Association, the American Society of Newspaper Editors, and American Newspaper Publishers Association, Sigma Delta Chi, the Public Relations Society of America, and others — only the Public Relations Society did anything. Hamilton Wright, Jr., was suspended for six months for accepting contingent fees and for practices tending to corrupt the integrity of the channels of public communication. In itself, this is not a severe penalty, but it is the only one imposed by a professional group. Public relations men at least made a gesture toward protecting the channels of communication; journalists did nothing.

The press has been reluctant to admit any need for self-regulation, and it is this reluctance which opens the question of government regulation. Freedom of the press is useful only as long as it guarantees the public's rights. That guarantee is too often invalidated by the press itself.

ROBERT L. BISHOP
University of Michigan

the lower case

Wandering Cong

There is no stopping the Viet Cong if they are operating as far away as Korea, as suggested in this headline over a Seoul story in the Ashland (Ky.) Daily Independent of November 2, 1966



Brides who wear glasses

When Ann Landers complained in her column about bridal photos in glasses, the makeup man at the Akron Beacon Journal (January 8, 1967) wasn't reading

DEAR ANN Landers: I used to look forward to reading the Sunday papers, but now I just get mad. The reason—those frightful looking brides in the society section. Pick up any Sunday paper in the United States or Canada and you will see what I mean.

I realize that styles change, but my grandmother's wedding picture is still beautiful

Ann Landers

and so is my mother's. You can at least see their faces. Why do so many brides today wear bangs that hang down into their eyes? Or side-drape hairdos reminiscent of an old Veronica Lake movie? And those boyish haircuts under

wedding crowns are the ugliest thing yet.

My biggest gripe, however, is the bride who poses in glasses. If a girl is so dumb that she doesn't know glasses ruin a picture why doesn't the photographer tell her?

Please Ann, inform all brides everywhere to avoid far-out fads. Tell them to stay with the simple hairdos and to please leave the horned-rimmed, kookie glasses off. Ten years from now they'll be glad they did. MRS. C. H. R.

DEAR C. H. R.: The brides in the Sunday papers are the same girls you see in high schools, colleges, offices and shops. That's the way they look — and apparently at least one young man liked the look well enough to marry the girl.

I do, agree, however, that the wise bride avoids a far-out hairdo and kookie glasses. Remember, girl, simplicity never goes out of style.

DEAR ANN LANDERS: The holiday season is over, so

Cain-Marsh

A SKI RESORT in Hamberg, N. Y., was the honeymoon destination of Mr. and Mrs. Richard A. Marsh following their wedding in Oak Hill United Presbyterian Church. The couple were honored at a reception in General Local Union Hall No. 9.

The bride is the former Nancy R. Cain, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Ray W. Cain, 2324 Sunnybrook rd., Mogadore. The groom is the son of Mrs. Goldie Marsh, 100 Carlton dr.

Diane McDaniel was maid of honor and bridesmaids were Mrs. Robert Brown, Mrs. Donald Cain, Bloomingdale, N. J., the bride's sister-in-law, Mrs. Dennis Peck and Jodi Brewer Tall.



MRS. RICHARD A. MARSH

Premature burial

A member of the Nixon staff disinterestedly pointed out the juxtaposition of headlines below, from The Miami Herald, September 15:

Other Deaths

On Page 6C

GOP Fate At Stake -Nixon

And, by the way . . .

Under the headline, 'I Photographed a UFO,' the Long Island Press for October 31, 1966, began its story as follows:

By LEONARD VICTOR

I saw and photographed a UFO — an unidentified flying object — in North Brentwood late Saturday night.

And, although I did not see them, the final time exposure I took clearly showed three extra streaks of light in formation, east of the UFO I was photographing. They may have been three more of the mysterious aerial objects that have been roaming Long Island's skies in recent days.

At the same time I was visually and photographically tracking the UFO, the Air Force and The Press were both receiving calls about the same sighting and other sightings in Smithtown and Centerport.

I suspect a lot of people aren't going to believe it, but what I witnessed has nothing to do with the series, "UFO's Are Serious Business" that starts today on page 15 of The Press.

Clean miss

The El Paso Times, a morning newspaper, went well beyond the cautious wire service election story it printed to proclaim the result of the election in neighboring New Mexico

TODAY'S CHECKLE:
The only time a husband can be sure he's right is when he admits he's wrong (C)

The El Paso Times

EL PASO, TEXAS, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1966

THE WEATHER:
El Paso and Vicinity—Partly cloudy to cloudy Wednesday. Light showers expected. Lows 38 to 40 and 38 to 40; Highs near 63.

86th Year, No. 313
32 PAGES IN THREE SECTIONS—PRICE 10 CENTS

Gene Lusk Elected New Mexico Governor

Saw Tower Crab Head From Waggoner Carr

But it was wrong, as the afternoon papers showed:

CARLSBAD CURRENT-ARGUS

Dave Cargo Upsets Lusk At Polls

Eddy Vote Awarded GOP

Incumbents Win Easily In NM Vote

By BILL FEATHER
Associated Press Writer

Albuquerque, N.M. — Democratic candidates for national and state offices built up increasing leads Tuesday night in the New Mexico general election, but surprises developed among the strength of Republican candidates.

NEWSPAPERS. New York Times should raise print size in regular edition from 8 to 9 point. Weekly issue in jumbo type good idea. More significant improvement would be to raise daily size. Make it more readable. Times should take legibility lesson from Wall Street Journal. . . .

Free advice

The Gallagher Report, a weekly newsletter for the advertising and publishing business, offered the counsel shown above for The New York Times in its issue of November 29, 1966. Meanwhile, Times Talk, the Times house organ, for October, 1966, had the announcement shown at right.

The Times will change its face—its type face, that is—next year, the first change in body type in a quarter of a century. The new type, 8½ point Imperial, is larger and more comfortable to read than the present 8 point Ideal. It will be used in all sections of the paper, daily and Sunday, and in the International Edition.

Coincidence department

At right, an item from the Detroit Free Press, January 12, 1967. Below, a column in the World Journal Tribune, New York, January 14, 1967

BOB CONSIDINE

Note to Car Safety Critics: Slow Down

DETROIT—Okay, men, get set for another smash exclusive. It may ring down the corridors of time (or Newsweek) as resoundingly as my Christmas holiday period piece suggesting that we stop treating the President like an unemployed brother-in-law. He's the only President we've got, I wrote, and was astonished to receive what is for me an avalanche of mail (most of run up there about 10 or 12 pieces from all parts of the country) applauding me for my gaffe.

My big new and daring declaration is that newspapers, TV, radio and the weekly news magazines have painted themselves into a tight and tedious corner on the question of automobile safety.

Apparently we prefer to take Ralph Nader's word about the subhuman malevolence of the American automobile over the protestations of men who have made that car and have been working at getting it better and roll it better than

Ulians are too chicken to introduce legislation directed against constituents who are incompetent drivers; and (3) we just knocked \$1 billion off the federal super-highway budget, which would have provided countless miles of safe roads. This could consequently reap a harvest of deaths which will dwarf the fatalities of Viet Nam.

HAD A TALK with the president of one of the major companies—it doesn't matter which one because despite the fierce competition here they think alike and he made these points:

- The 8 per cent surtax will hurt the industry because prospective car buyers will be more concerned with paying their taxes than buying a longed-for new model.
- Some of the rules expected to be laid down by Congress in respect to car safety will soon be proved to be for the birds. If they should be laid down, we are

Considine Stars In Ford Film

Bob Considine, author and columnist, will appear in and narrate a motion picture on Ford Motor Co.'s automotive safety research and engineering.

Considine was in Detroit for two days, through Friday, for production of the film, which will be released in the spring.

A CONCISE BARTLETT'S FOR JOURNALISTS

There is really no reason for cigarette makers to quit advertising or for broadcasters to quit accepting cigarette accounts as long as the sale of cigarettes is legal. — *Editorial, Television, December, 1966.*

... we are often despised by those other employees who have to adapt only their hands and bodies to make the commodities which employers wish to sell; journalists have to adapt their words, thoughts, feelings, principles. — *D.A.N. Jones, in The New York Review, December 29, 1966.*

Looking forward to the day when all information will rattle out of computers, an official of the General Learning Corp. recently advised ad men to study the feasibility of including advertisements in computer printouts. — *The Insider's Newsletter, December 12, 1966.*

One of the pleasanter aspects of giving the job up is the thought that I shall never again have to immerse myself in the stiflingly conformist world of the U.S. network news services. — *Neil Compton, a Canadian professor, on terminating a series of comments on television in Commentary, January, 1967.*

The editor knows his readers, knows how hard (or easy) a puzzle they require. For example, have you tried the former New York *Herald Tribune*? It's easy now in the new *World Journal Tribune*. — *Lionel M. Kaufman in Media/scope, February, 1967.*

You should ... have broadened your concept of payola to include unusual situations such as that involving the owner of two record companies who also was the proprietor of an auto repair shop which was patronized substantially by many of your employees, some of whom seem to have enjoyed unusually lenient credit arrangements. — *Letter from the Federal Communications Commission to Crowell-Collier Broadcasting, rebuking the latter for its management of a radio station in Los Angeles (after station was sold, December 7, 1966.*

*Manchester (man-ches-tur), v. 1967. (After Wm. Manchester, Amn. writer pre-cataclism., in re his *The Death of a President*.) 1. To edit the life or juice out of political writing for a political purpose; to make an ostensibly independent written presentation subserve specific political purposes. 2. To change, omit, add, and otherwise clean up remarks made on the floor of Congress so that they will be tame and acceptable in the form in which they are published in the *Congressional Record*. (See Larry L. King, *The Texas Observer*, Feb. 17, 1967.) Political bowdlerization. (Ex.: As when a presidential speechwriter, hearing the tatters of his principled draft being read from the teleprompter over television, cries out, "I've been manchestered!")

— *Ronnie Dugger, in The Texas Observer, February 17, 1967.*

... If a newspaper was to be successful, it must reflect the personality of one man — possibly the editor or possibly the principal proprietor: nothing was more damaging to a newspaper than an attempt to run its policies by a committee. — *British Monopolies Commission report on the transfer of The Times of London, quoted in IPI Report, February, 1967.*

